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The Contemporaries of St. Bernardine.

PART THE FIRST.

I.

WE are afraid to say how many years ago it was that an article appeared in the *Quarterly Review* on the manners and customs of the times of St. Chrysostom, as illustrated by the sermons of that great preacher. Who was the author of the article we either never heard or have forgotten. It may have been published in some collection of papers by the same writer, or, like so many other articles which have been famous in their time, and deservedly famous, on account of the immense industry the fruits of which they have embodied, it may remain imbedded in the rarely-visited volumes of the long series of the *Quarterly*, perhaps some day to be dug up and republished, perhaps even to furnish some audacious scribe of the present or future generation with borrowed erudition in which he may dress himself out and strut his little hour, again in his turn to be consigned to an oblivion, in such a case, well merited. At all events, the article of which we speak, and which we are about, in an humble way and in a limited measure, to imitate, was extremely amusing and interesting, and we should be very glad to anticipate for our own remarks a tenth part of the credit which that paper deserved.

It may be said, in general, that a faithful and tolerably full account of the sermons of the greatest preachers of any generation or country must throw a great light upon the manners of the time, if, at least, the sermons are directed chiefly to the lives of the audience, and if the preacher is fearless and independent enough to speak as plainly and hit as hardy as he ought. In these respects the student of St. Chrysostom has an exceptional, and perhaps an unique, advantage. Somehow we seem to have very good accounts of the sermons of St. Chrysostom. He is the perfect pattern of a fearless and practical preacher, his position gave him great authority, his character and his eloquence

gave him great influence, and the times in which he lived and the places in which he preached gave an importance as well as a picturesque interest to the sketches which he has so often incidentally drawn for us. In the case which we are about to take, that of the great Franciscan preacher, St. Bernardine of Siena, the sermons on which our inquiries must be founded are authentic enough, for he seems to have compiled them himself after his course of preaching had continued for many years. They lack altogether the racy freshness of the language of St. Chrysostom, for they exist only in Latin, in which they were not preached. They are, in truth, notes from sermons, and, although of great use to preachers and others in search of topics which they can themselves develope, they are hardly ever, as a general rule, sufficiently expanded and clear to make easy spiritual reading, in the more technical sense of the term. But they are very interesting and valuable, in the first place as summaries of doctrine, theological, moral, and ascetical, and in the second place, in a lesser but still in a considerable degree, as illustrations of the Italy of the times of St. Bernardine, that is, the fifteenth century. It is in this way that we shall try to use them in our present paper, giving in the first place a short account of the sermons in the literary form in which they at present exist.

The biographers of St. Bernardine tell us that in the year 1433, after he had been for some time at Rome in the suite of the Emperor Sigismund—who was crowned there by the Pope on the Whitsunday of that year—the Saint retired to his favourite monastery at Capriola, a short distance from the gates of his native city, Siena, and that he spent there the greater part of three years, during which he was chiefly employed in writing out his sermons and treatises. This retirement to Capriola was eleven years before his death (which took place on May 20, 1444), and some fifteen years after he had begun to be very famous as a preacher. His ministry in this respect dates, indeed, from the year 1408, when he went into the north of Italy in order to hear and consult the great Dominican apostle of the time, St. Vincent Ferrer, then at Alessandria. On the day after that famous interview, St. Vincent openly prophesied in his sermon that there was a young Franciscan friar present who was to take up the work for Italy which he himself had been performing for France and Spain. But for ten years from that time St. Bernardine preached chiefly in the neighbourhood of his own monastery, and never passed the frontiers of Tuscany.

It is probable that he had not at that time received any permission to go further. But in 1418 his more famous course of preaching began at Milan, and from that time to the moment of his retirement to Capriola in 1433 his career had been one of almost uninterrupted activity. The sermons, therefore, which he put in order at the time of which we speak must have been those which he had already preached, though he may have drawn up plans and arranged materials for others. As we possess them, they seem well enough to support this obvious conjecture, though there are some passages which seem to relate to circumstances in his life which happened between his stay at Capriola and his death. We may consider, therefore, that the sermons, as we have them, are the fruit of the mature experience of St. Bernardine, and that when he put them together as they exist he would have before his mind the many particular incidents which had given occasion to this or that line of preaching in various places.

Capriola itself is so closely connected with the life of the Saint that we may pause a moment to say a word or two concerning it. It was on a hill about a mile outside Siena, and in the time of St. Bernardine was the site of a small church and hermitage dedicated to St. Onofrio. It lay on the road between the Monastery of the Colombaio, where St. Bernardine passed his novitiate, and it is said that he happened to be going into Siena from the Colombaio one 12th of June, the day of the feast of St. Onofrio, and that seeing a crowd of people assembled for the *festa*, he climbed up into a tree near the door of the little shrine and preached to the multitude with wonderful energy and spirit. The hermitage and church belonged to the Hospital of Sta. Maria della Scala, in which a famous confraternity used to meet for the purpose of prayer and the exercises of piety and of mortification. This confraternity had long been the nursery of saints, and Bernardine himself had been one of its members before he entered the Order of St. Francis. After the day of his wonderful preaching at the hermitage of Capriola, he begged the whole place, church and all, of the Rector of the confraternity, that he might turn it into a monastery of "the Observance," as that reform of the Franciscan Order was called to which he himself belonged, and of which he afterwards became the first Vicar General. The confraternity could refuse nothing to Bernardine, who had won the hearts of all his Sienese fellow-townsmen by his devotion to the plague-stricken some few years before.

Capriola became a sort of head-quarters to him from that time.

The works of St. Bernardine, as we now possess them, fill four or five thin folios in two several editions. The first of these in the edition before us, that of De la Haye, Paris, 1635, contains a complete "Lent," from Quinquagesima to Low Sunday, of sixty-one sermons, entitled *On the Christian Religion*. The second contains another "Lent," of sixty-six sermons, extending over the same period, which is called *On the Eternal Gospel*. The third volume begins with an "Advent" of thirteen sermons, called *On the Christian Life*: eight of these sermons are on the Beatitudes. Then follows another "Lent," *On the Spiritual Conflict*, beginning with Ash Wednesday and ending with Maundy Thursday. There are here forty-five sermons, much shorter than those in the former collections. Then comes another "Advent," *On Inspirations*, containing five sermons. The whole of the difficult and delicate subject of the "Discernment of Spirits" is here handled. Then follows another "Lent," of forty-nine sermons, which are said to be made up of those which St. Bernardine preached when at Padua. This "Lent" is entitled *The Seraphim*, because the subject of each sermon is some quality or characteristic of Divine love. It must not be supposed, however, that these sermons are less practical in purpose than the rest. The volume ends with twenty-five sermons on various subjects, and a few tracts. The fourth volume gives us a collection of sermons such as in modern volumes of the same kind would be said to be on *The Mysteries*. There are sermons on our Lord's Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Ascension, on the Holy Ghost and His gifts, on Holy Communion and its fruits; others on the Festivals of our Blessed Lady, her Name, Immaculate Conception, Nativity, Annunciation, Consent, Visitation, Purification, Assumption, and Glorification. The first of these series contains fourteen sermons, the second, on our Lady, thirteen. There are also three sermons *De Sanctis*, the chief of which is on St. Joseph, and twenty-one miscellaneous sermons, which seem to belong to various Sundays. The works conclude with a commentary on the Apocalypse, which forms a thin volume by itself, bound up in the edition which we are using with the fourth volume. Several of the sermons which have been enumerated are classed as separate "tracts" in ordinary catalogues of the works of the Saint.

II.

The miserable state to which Italy had been brought during the great schism has been frequently described by the historians of the time. Their accounts find a faithful reflection in the sermons of St. Bernardine, and we shall proceed to illustrate some of the more prominent features of the picture by an examination of his treatment of them. Let us first take the internecine feuds which divided states and cities, and even in some cases the members of the same families. The north of Italy, especially Lombardy, seems to have been torn by these factions to a degree of which we can hardly form an accurate notion. Of all the towns in which the evil prevailed, Bergamo, where St. Bernardine preached in the course of 1419, seems to have been the worst.

In this town [says one of his biographers] greater cruelties were practised than elsewhere, and so devoted were the people to the prejudices of party, that, not satisfied with erecting its badges on the tops of houses, gates, walls, towers, and palaces, they even introduced them into the churches, stamping them on the chalices, sacred vestments, altars, and tombs. Some too, as they had ranged the very beasts whose form resembled their symbols on one side or the other, assigned a party meaning even to trees and flowers; to olives, oaks, willows, and other trees; to red and white roses, and even to the forms of drinking glasses, and to apples, peaches, and other fruit. Others blindly imagined that the Church was Guelph, and regarded some of the saints as Guelphs, others as Ghibellines; nay, men had been found so impious to announce as belonging to their party the very God of everlasting peace (*Life of St. Bernardine*, p. 84. Oratorian Series).¹

We find in St. Bernardine's Lent *On the Christian Religion* two long sermons which have reference to this evil, and which form a perfect treatise against the spirit of faction, which from time to time has infected countries nearer home to us than the north of Italy. The first of these sermons is allotted to the Third Sunday in Lent, and the text is taken from the Gospel, in which St. Luke mentions our Lord's words about "a kingdom divided against itself."² The sermon begins, as all the Sunday sermons in this Lent, with an arrangement of subjects which are to be treated of during the ensuing week, and then proceeds to

¹ These curious statements seem to be founded on St. Bernardine's own account in one of the Sermons to which we are about to refer. *Quadr. de Christiana Religione*, Serm. xxvi. art. i. c. i.

² St. Luke xi.

the introduction of the special subject of the day. It is headed : *Contra Guelphos et Gebellinos et quascunque alias divisiones et partes*, and has an exordium more fully worked out than is usual in the sermons as we have them.

When we consider the impiety of hatred between brethren, and remember the destruction which has been caused by the dreadful plague of faction, the cruelties and the evils which we have seen in our times, and which we have handled, we are forced rather to weeping than to speech. Where is the man of heart so hard and so stony, that he could refrain from tears, if he were to have knowledge of the things which we have seen and heard, and known by certain experience, in the regions of Italy, and above all in the parts of Lombardy? Who can tell how many impieties, cruelties, conflagrations, betrayals, homicides, and crimes of the same kind, have been wrought out in a very short time? Who can carefully consider all the mischief to property, to bodies, and to souls, which has followed from the quarrels of factions, without finding his eyes fill with tears and his heart heave with sighs? So true is it that every one of us knows from the teaching of experience, how entirely true is that which our Lord expresses in the text, "Every kingdom divided against itself shall be made desolate, and a house divided against itself shall fall."

Then he comes to his subject. One most important point of Christian religion is unity, and how much this ought to be embraced and practised by all who worship our Lord is manifest by the experience of the evils, which follow from the contrary vice of faction and party spirit, which, as he says, is the death of justice, the cause and fostering of wars, the destruction of communities (*patriarum*), the height and consummation of folly, wicked cruelty, pestilent malice, the multiplication of sins, the denial of the faith, treason against Christ, a fault which excludes penitence and involves eternal damnation, forfeiture of ecclesiastical burial, and silences all the prayers of the Church for those who die in it. We have in this sentence the twelve fruits of the spirit of faction. St. Bernardine is very fond of this number in the divisions of his sermons, in which he frequently, as in the present case, makes three "articles," each of which embraces four heads. The rest of the sermon of which we speak is a development of the points which have just been mentioned.

The manner in which St. Bernardine argues against this evil of party spirit is very remarkable, and shows how very much he must have had it at heart to deliver Italy from the plague of faction. It is quite clear that these sermons—for, as we shall

see, there are more than one—are the summaries of matter which he must very often have preached. One of the points in the sermon before us is that factions are the destruction of communities.³ He proves it in this way—

When parties begin to boil over, their sins require punishment: the devil brings it about, and Divine justice permits, that one banishes the other. The goods of the exiles are pillaged, their homes destroyed, their lands go uncultivated, their vineyards are cut down and destroyed, the arts and commerce are given up by them, their herds and flocks and other live stock are devoured. The lads sent into banishment with their fathers are obliged by want to let themselves out for hire, they become thieves, some are hung, some are killed, some perish in battle, others end a miserable life by some other kind of unhappy death. The young men do not marry, and live in the same way as those just mentioned. The marriageable girls remain without husbands, some take to a wandering life and to the worst of trades. The men are worn out by hunger, poverty, sadness, and manifold misery, and wander wretchedly from place to place. Religious men lose their regular observance, clerics lay aside the modesty of their state, and learning and study are abandoned. Cities become dens of thieves, churches are profaned, monasteries depopulated and destroyed, wives are made widows, and all goods temporal and spiritual are destroyed. But this is not the end of evils. There remain "other five." When the sins of the banished party have been punished, and the wickedness of the party that has expelled it have reached their full height, then there is another crash of Divine justice and the wheel of the state of worldly affairs turns round. The banished come back and drive out those who were in power, they revenge themselves with savage cruelty, and pay off the score of all the injuries which they have received. If anything remains to be destroyed, the end of its destruction is at hand. Then indeed is found the truth of our Lord's saying, "Every kingdom divided against itself shall be made desolate, and a house divided against itself shall fall."⁴ And so also of that of Isaias, "Command, command again, expect, expect again, a little there, a little there, that they may go, and fall backward, and be broken and snared and taken."⁵ For one party commands the expulsion of the other, and then that other returns and sends the first into exile. The party turned out expects again and waits till it can come back, and so again in turn does the other when it has been banished. First a little is taken from one here, and then a little from the other there, of its spiritual or temporal goods. And thus they are always going and falling backwards, each party getting gradually from bad to worse, until

³ *Terrarum et patriarcharum exterminatio.* He seems to use "terra" in the Italian sense, still in use.

⁴ St. Luke xi. 17.

⁵ Isaias xxviii. 13. In the Vulgate it is "manda, remanda," and thus the idea of "sending" is brought in.

they are finally crushed by punishments, and afflictions, and torments, and snared in ever greater crimes, and then in death by the pains of hell, and that is verified which Jeremias has written, "The strong hath stumbled against the strong, and both are fallen together."⁶ "I have seen," says St. Bernardine, "two cocks fighting a long and severe battle together, tearing one another to pieces with beak and spurs, and when they were both utterly exhausted, and could fight no more, their rage against one another had not diminished but increased. And so I have seen many of these faction-men, so utterly wretched as to have wasted their whole substance upon their feuds, and to have nothing at all left, except the rabid fury of their party spirit."

Another of his points is the pestilential character of the spirit of faction. Here he dwells at length on the infectiousness of the disease, which was one from which it was almost impossible to escape when it once had entered a community. He says that in a factious town everything is poisoned by the virus of party. Such men ought to be altogether avoided, as they communicate their disease in every possible way. "Yea, even their touch, look, breath, speech, their footprints and shadows and houses and all else seem to be infected with the plague, so that a man should not there drink out of their cup, nor sleep in their bed, nor remain under the same roof, nor dwell in a place that is given up to party. The atmosphere infected by party is to be avoided so much more than the atmosphere infected by the plague, inasmuch as party is the plague not only of the body, but of the fortune and of the soul." And then he says: "Perhaps some are surprised that I speak so severely against these parties; but the answer is supplied by sad experience. The plague comes into a city and many die, but many remain alive, and generally they are the larger part. But let the faction of Guelphs, or Ghibellines, or any other, enter a city, and it is the greatest wonder if any can escape, without at least in course of time joining, or being thought to join, one side or the other, as I indeed, to my astonishment and surprise, know from certain experience. And, what is most of all to be grieved over, even those who seem to fear God become so mad and without sense, especially as to the factions of Guelphs and Ghibellines, that they live as serenely therein as if the perfection of sanctity consisted in it; like the sons-in-law of Lot, in Sodom, who were so utterly without sense of the wickedness of the place that when he endeavoured to persuade them to depart he seemed to them

⁶ Jerem. xlvi. 12.

to be jesting." St. Bernardine ends this point by applying to the subject the warnings of the Apocalypse: "Go out from her, my people, that you be not partakers of her sin, and that you receive not of her plagues, for her sins have reached unto heaven."⁷

These may suffice as specimens of the strong manner in which St. Bernardine set himself to work against this, one of the greatest evils of his day in Italy. We find it mentioned of him that one of the practical measures which he took when he had the opportunity was the destruction of the marks and badges of the parties, which had been set up in all directions, in the place of which he made the people paint or engrave the holy Name of our Lord, to which he had himself so particular a devotion. We have perhaps here one of the reasons for his practice of carrying it about on a tablet, and offering it to the veneration of the people at the conclusion of his sermons or missions. There are several anecdotes in his life which illustrate this devotion of his. The sermon which follows that from which we have been lately quoting, and which is allotted to the same Sunday in Lent, and taken from the same Gospel, is very interesting as showing how strongly he felt and spoke against these marks of party. He takes as his text the words of our Lord about the "strong man armed," who possesses his abode in peace, and this he says may be understood of the devil, who reigns in peace in the souls of the people who in their ignorance place the badges of their party upon their houses, walls, doors, palaces, and the like. This, he says, is a manifest sign that the devil, who in the Apocalypse is called Apollyon, or the destroyer, peaceably dwells in the evil consciences of such men. He quotes the words of Job: "There is no power on earth that can be compared with him."⁸ He says the arms in which the devil trusts are the leagues and confederations of all those who follow parties. He reigns among them in peace, for evil men hate the light, and their consciences do not trouble them. They are ignorant that the marks of party are most manifest signs that the places in which they are set up and their inhabitants are handed over by God to the power of the devil, who mimics what God has done, and so sets up the insignia and names of the parties, as God has set up our Lord and the holy name of Jesus to be the leader and standard of His children. Then he takes the text from the seventy-third Psalm: "They have set up their ensigns for signs," and the rest,

⁷ Apoc. xviii. 4, 5.

⁸ Job xli. 24.

and draws out the plan of his sermon under three heads, as usual, showing first that these party signs are manifest signs of idolatry, then that to wear them and set them up is to hasten straight and impenitent to hell, and thirdly that it is also to drag other men's souls to eternal perdition.

St. Bernardine begins the proof of his first point by an account of the origin of idolatry, which he takes from the famous passage in the fourteenth chapter of the Book of Wisdom. Idolatry was destroyed, he says, by the preaching of the Gospel and the spread of the Church, but, by the same envy of the devil by which death entered into the world, the old idolatry has been revived under another form in Italy itself, as if in despite of Christ and His Church. He sees a sort of prophecy of this in St. Paul's words to the Romans, where in his first chapter he describes how it was that the Gentiles were given over to idolatry, changing "the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds, and of four-footed beasts, and of creeping things."⁹ Some of these parties, he said, have as the standard of their faction a man who is their head, whom they follow and honour more than God, for whom they willingly die, which they will not do for Christ; and this man is the image, not of God, but of a corruptible man, a very devil incarnate. He goes on to mention a number of other badges of the same sort, live eagles, and other birds of different colours, which they feed as if they were idols. Others have horses, or lions, or other animals of different colours. The eagle was the ensign, of course, of the Empire, and hence of the Ghibelline party, as the Church was supposed to be Guelph, but, he says, experience teaches that the Guelphs will fight for their own interest seven times a day against the Church, and the Ghibellines for their own interest seven times a day against the Empire. He goes on to speak of the manner in which trees and flowers and all other things were divided into badges of one side or the other. These men will suffer for their party and its badges torments and death, and yet will not bear a blow on the cheek for the love of our Lord, and they actually offer idolatrous homage to the ensigns against which He speaks. The devil, he adds, has taken his revenge on our Lord. He has come back like the evil spirit of whom our Lord speaks in the same Gospel, finding his old house empty, swept, and garnished, and brought with him seven other evil spirits more wicked than himself. From their

⁹ Rom. i. 23.

fruits they may be known. He has already spoken of the savage cruelty of these factions, worse than that of the early persecutors of the Church, as his own experience in Lombardy attests. "I have never met with it in history that the flesh of the martyrs was devoured, either raw or cooked, by the persecutors, like so many wolves, and yet we know that this has been done in Lombardy by the members of these factions in our own time." Later on in the same sermon he adds that if a representation of Christ, or our Blessed Lady, or some one of the saints, had been struck, there would be either no inquiry made, or at best a negligent inquiry, as to the offender. But if these idols of the devil, that is, the marks of party, had been struck, the most diligent pursuit would be made after the guilty person over mountains and valleys and cities and towns until he was caught, tortured, and put to death without mercy.

A proof of the great importance which St. Bernardine attached to the crusade against the factions is found in the second great Lenten collection of Sermons, *On the Eternal Gospel*, in which we find two more sermons on the same subject as those from which we have been quoting. They are for the same Sunday in Lent (the Third). In the first the preacher passes from his text about the kingdom divided against itself to some words of St. John in the Apocalypse, about "the voice of an eagle flying through the midst of heaven, saying with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabitants of the earth;"¹⁰ and he makes this triple woe the foundation of the divisions of his sermon, in which he proves that to belong to one of the parties was to sin mortally by thought, word, and deed. A remarkable feature of this sermon is that he inserts in it an answer to the excuses made by persons who defended their adhesion to the factions. St. Bernardine meets seven arguments in order. It is said, in the first place, that a person who only joins a faction in heart, and no more, does not sin mortally, because he does not intend to hurt his neighbour. In the second place, that such a person not only does not intend to hurt the other side, but even to benefit it. Thirdly, it is alleged in excuse that the ancestors of persons were Guelphs and Ghibellines, and that they cannot help belonging to the party, or at least being thought to belong to it. Again, it is said that the whole city or state in certain cases has adopted this side, and exacts an oath of its own citizens to maintain it.

¹⁰ Apoc. viii. 13.

Others say that they remain in their party in order to keep up their position in the world. Another argument is, that there is no division where all of a community are on the same side, and the last is the pleading of those who say they would be very glad if there were no such things as parties, and still mix themselves up with the proceedings of that party to which they belong. All these excuses St. Bernardine disposes of in a very summary manner. It might perhaps be wished that a similar method of dealing peremptorily with the evils of secret societies, or again, of national animosities and the spirit of national revenge which is so rife even among modern Catholics, were more often adopted in the pulpits of our own time. But of this we need not speak at present.

III.

The last part of the sermon on which we are now commenting contains a terrible catalogue of the practical evils resulting from the factions, in order to prove the mortal sins of act of which their members make themselves guilty. This sermon is followed by another on the same subject, in which St. Bernardine most ingeniously and elaborately applies to the partisans of the time the description given by St. John in the Apocalypse¹¹ of his vision of horses—"And they that sat on them had breastplates of fire and of hyacinth and of brimstone, and the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions, and from their mouths proceeded fire, and smoke, and brimstone, and by these three plagues was slain the third part of men, by the fire and the smoke and the brimstone which issued out of their mouth. For the power of the horses is in their mouths and in their tails. For their tails are like to serpents, and have heads, and with them they hurt." But perhaps our readers will think that we have said enough upon this subject, especially as there are so many others on which we may find much to interest them. We may hope that if the evils of which we have been speaking are comparatively unknown in our own times, we may be able at least to understand the state of Italy at the close of the middle ages a little better for the illustrations furnished by St. Bernardine. There are, no doubt, some nations to which the spirit of faction is more congenial than to others, and the very great municipal independence of the Italian cities and commonwealths may have had something to do with the

¹¹ Apoc. ix. 17.

extreme virulence of the parties which divided them. We must leave it to our readers to say whether the next evil as to which we are about to quote St. Bernardine is altogether a thing of the past. Every one knows the singular modesty, simplicity, sobriety, decency, and thriftiness which distinguish the Christian women of our own time in the matter of dress. We fear, therefore, that we can only hope to raise, in the paragraphs which follow, that kind of languid interest in our readers which belongs to a subject which is to them purely historical, and has no bearing on the manners and customs of the nineteenth century. Still, it may be useful to know how very foolish women were in the fifteenth century, and what St. Bernardine said to them—if it be only that we may indulge for a moment in the pardonable satisfaction which must be the result of a contemplation of our own superior Christianity.

It is only fair to say that, as far as appears, the attacks made by St. Bernardine upon the vanities and indecencies of dress do not fall altogether upon the weaker sex alone. We have as many as four sermons of the Saint which have reference to this subject. The first which we shall mention is in the Lent on the *Christian Religion*, where, on the Tuesday after Passion Sunday, he delivers himself on the subject of worldly vanities. His text is taken from the Gospel, where the relatives of our Lord are said to have urged Him to "manifest Himself to the world."¹² This, says St. Bernardine, is what worldly people are always urging one another to do. The great object of life is to shine and make a figure. Wise and learned men know better, and they remember how hateful to God men may become from following vanities, as the Psalm says—"Thou hast hated them who regard vanities to no purpose."¹³ He takes the words of this verse separately, and considers that the word *observantes*—"regarding," points out curiosities and expensiveness as the objects of God's hatred, in the first place. In the second place, God hates worldly "vanities," and in the third place, He hates "superfluities," which are condemned in the word *supervacue*—"to no purpose." Thus he gets to the threefold division of his sermon, and he proceeds to attack curiosities, vanities, and superfluities in turn. As to "curiosities," which word he uses in the sense of expensive and rare fineries, he says there is a triple abuse, of materials, of form, and of diligence or labour, which may be found in such things. The

¹² St. John vii. 4.

¹³ Psalm xxx. 7.

material may be of silk or even golden, and may not be in keeping with the station of the persons who wear it. In all such matters, he says, when people want to know whether the custom, which is alleged in defence, be an abuse or not and sinful or not, three mirrors, as it were, must be examined, as to the past, the present, and the future: whether the precious garment or stuff has been acquired by unlawful gains and "the blood of the poor," by unfair bargains, usury, simony, and the like; whether it really be required by and in keeping with the condition of the person who wears it, and what future expenses and practices it may involve, for sometimes "deep calleth unto deep"—the deep of money badly spent upon the deep of money to be badly gained. As to the first mirror, he remarks that it is not without a mysterious meaning that the wicked glutton in the Gospel is said to have been clothed in purple and fine linen, for the purple signifies the blood of the poor with which the raiment of extortioners and usurers is stained. As to the second, he says that the "status" which is sometimes alleged as the reason for expensiveness ought often to be more properly called "casus," inasmuch as people ruin themselves that their wives and children may dress as finely as others who are above them. And as to the third, he speaks of the expense occasioned by the necessity of following the fashion, which requires that the customs of worldly vanity should be always varying, that there should always be changes and additions, and the like. Here indeed he touches what appears to be the main principles of that great power in the world which is obeyed more universally, more unhesitatingly, and at greater cost than any other power which exists, the power of fashion. The possible variations of dress are, after all, limited in number, for after all only a certain number of materials of a certain number of colours and their combinations can be made, and the human form, notwithstanding all the inventions of the dressmakers and all the theories of Mr. Darwin, remains the same generation after generation. The single problem which the rulers of fashion have to satisfy season after season, is that the dress of last year shall not do for this. There is little attempt made at greater beauty, much less at greater decency and modesty. The only thing necessary is that there shall be a change, and, consequently, new expenditure.

But we must return to St. Bernardine. There can be no

doubt that at any time there must be a great number of ladies—not to speak of their husbands—who are somewhat unwilling slaves of the exigencies of fashion, whether from Christian principles or motives of economy or of natural modesty. Many such persons may be saved from great danger and follies by the guidance of their advisers, and if their advisers were all firm and prudent, much mischief might be prevented. "Oh, the unhappy foolishness of worldly people," cries out St. Bernardine. "Oh, the blind madness of vanity! Oh, the inconsiderate derangement of the souls that are thus lost!" among which "*utinam et utinam et iterum utinam*, that many confessors may not have a part, who ignorantly or according to the wisdom of the flesh advise or preach, without understanding, or in some cases wishing to understand, what the Doctors of the Church mean as to the adornment and jewelry and dress of women, when they say that a woman may adorn herself that she may please her husband." Of such advisers, he quotes our Lord's words, "They are blind, and leaders of the blind. If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." Then he quotes the rule laid down by St. Paul in his first Epistle to Timothy.¹⁴

In the passage in which he speaks of "curiosity" as to the form of the garment, there are here and there sentences which we must commend to the students of costumes, for they are too difficult for our ordinary scholarship. He speaks very strongly against certain dresses which ladies seem to have worn, which he calls "giornæ," which he says were masculine and even military in character. For some of the dresses, too, against which he inveighs, a great quantity of cloth and other stuffs had to be used up. Then again he speaks of the number of changes which the fashion required. At the end of this member of his discourse he attacks the makers of the dresses as well as the wearers. "More culpable," he says, "are the tailors and other workpeople who invent and make these vanities, who for the sake of gain and custom devote their whole minds to the discovery and introduction of new devices of this kind, who are all blameworthy and partakers of all the mortal sins which follow from them." What would he have said of M. Worth?

When St. Bernardine comes to the subject of the pains that are spent upon these "curiosities," he reserves for special treatment the dressing of the hair, as he elsewhere reserves for special treatment, of which we shall speak presently, the

¹⁴ 1 Tim. ii. 9.

important subject of trains, or, as he irreverently calls them, "tails." "But let us consider," he says,

With what diligence these garments are taken care of. Observe the pains taken in putting them up, in folding them, in uncovering them, in shaking them in the fresh air, especially on Midsummer Day (*in die Sancti Joannis*), lest they be eaten by moths, in spreading them out, in airing them in the wind. Oh, the care taken that they may not be stained with oil or anything else! If by chance—which God forbid—some mud or anything else dirty should have befouled that precious vestment, oh, what sorrow and grief and sadness of heart! How swift the feet that fly to fetch some remedy, how delicate the hands that set to work to get rid of the stain! The whole power of the mind is strained to get the garment rid of its spot, and, unless it be cleansed away, these poor souls will not dare to appear before men.

And then he breaks out—

Oh, what diligence as to outward things! How senseless are the cares of men, what inconsiderate madness is there as to what is within! The soul is fouled by a multitude of sins and infected by a crowd of enemies. Day after day it is stained by a multiplication of horrible wickednesses, and yet for its healing there is no care, no resource, no memory, there is not even a thought given to this consideration, and the woman has no shame or fear to appear in such guise in the presence of the King of Heaven and of the Lord of all.

God hates vanities, St. Bernardine tells us, for three reasons—on account of the bad intentions with which they are used, as when women dress themselves out to please the eyes of other men besides their own husbands; on account of their enervating effects upon the soul; and on account of the miserable end to which they lead, as in the instance of the rich glutton. Then he goes on to the head of superfluities. The three sections under which he shows that they are hateful to God—on account of the excess of ornament they engender, on account of the luxurious abuses to which they lead, and on account of the accumulation of dresses and other vanities—give us a high idea of the power with which St. Bernardine would have poured forth his denunciation of all these excesses to one of his large audiences, but they are not easy to translate. It is only to be expected that we should find a number of words which are puzzles to us, even with the aid of Du Cange, and we must own, moreover, to having found good reason for suspecting the accuracy of the printers of De la Haye's edition of St. Bernardine, which alone we have at hand. But the three members of this

last "article" on "superfluities" are evidently full of hints which an antiquarian might find very valuable in his researches as to the dress and furniture of the fifteenth century in Italy.

The three evils of "superfluities," according to the preacher, are, as we have said, the excess to which they lead in the way of ornament, the bad use which is made of them, and the quantities of garments which are collected for the possible use of one person. Under the first head St. Bernardine may be said almost to describe a fine lady from her head-gear down to her shoes, and he certainly finds plenty to blame everywhere : "From the top of her head to the sole of her foot you will find no sign in her but of her own eternal perdition and of that of those to whom she belongs." Her head is piled up with the hair of dead women as well as her own. Her hair is gilded, or she wears golden crowns most artistically made. The hair is supported by inflated bladders—*mitras seu vesicas inflatas et serico et mira arte depictus*—there are combs to part it, *discriminalia*, and over the forehead and face hang precious jewels and gems, as well as circlets over the temples and in the ears. If the forehead is not broad enough, it is artificially widened by drawing back the hair. The eyebrows are manipulated so as to appear longer than they are and to present a perfect curve ; they are carefully blackened. The loss of teeth is supplied by ivory, and the teeth generally are whitened by pigments and gums. Delicate instruments are contrived to pluck out any hair from the skin of the face, and if it be too coarse it is artificially smoothened. A beautiful white or vermillion hue, as the case may be, is imparted to the complexion or to the lips. A very thin transparent veil is worn, which is allowed by a studious negligence to drop so as not to hide the face. "By these and the like additions you find that the devil has furbished out like another Venus a woman whom nature has deprived of beauty." St. Bernardine goes on to speak of the pearls and precious stones, the chains and collars of gold or inlaid silver, the beads—"pater-nosters"—of gold or of other rare and various materials, "with which this poor woman prays not to God but to Satan, like an ape of the devil as she is. The foolish soul glories in all these things, just like a thief who might be proud of being hung with a new rope." He speaks next of some indecencies of dress and decoration, which show that if the fifteenth century had left some extravagances of this sort to be invented by the seventeenth, eighteenth, and, above all, the nineteenth, it still was not altogether guiltless on this head. The

long sleeves worn on the arms, "like wings flying down to hell," are indescribably pierced and adorned "with multifarious vanities and carnalities." The hands and wrists are covered with rings and bracelets, with fans and handkerchiefs, and sometimes gloves. *Quid, nisi luxuriam, clamant?* Then he attacks the girdles or sashes,¹⁵ or perhaps aprons, sometimes worn behind as well as before; they are of silver, or gilded, or of various colours, and adorned with figuring, engraving, and art of all sorts. "It is very foolish to honour the stomach, which is a bag of filth, at such an expense, and you wont make your donkey more honourable by girding him with a girth of gold." Then he attacks the long boots, and the shoes, on which a great deal of expense was lavished; they were gilded, or red, slashed with openings, peaked, and adorned in manifold ways. He ends by saying that the worst class of women for the worst purposes in the world could not deck themselves out more shamefully, and by laying it down as sinful to spend so much pains in making the body look taller or finer than it is. The two other heads of this part of the sermon describe shortly the luxuries of furniture and the immense wardrobes of the people of the time. St. Bernardine is very severe upon the adornment of walls with lascivious pictures and the great sumptuousness of the bedchambers, beds, cushions, curtains, and other such articles. "Oh, the height and hardness of the Cross of Christ! oh, the pains of the crucified and foolish Son of God! Why should Christ have suffered all those things, and so have entered into His glory, if men who are His servants are to be able to attain the glory which is not theirs with all these delicate pleasures, all these vanities, all this lasciviousness! And, oh! with what pleasure would God take His rest with the children of men, if they would take all this diligence in adorning the chamber of their conscience, and if with the Prophet they would water their couch night after night with tears. There is the grave, our bed and couch, which we should meditate on beforehand. Oh, how bitter is its memory, where, as Ecclesiasticus says, 'Man shall inherit serpents and beasts and worms'!"¹⁶ There he who yesterday was glittering in his halls now lies in his tomb. He was yesterday shining all glorious in his palace, is now lying there all discoloured in the dust. Yesterday he was fed with so many delicacies in his chamber, now he is in his sepulchre fed upon by worms." Then he passes to another topic. "There is also the horrible chamber of hell, and

¹⁵ At least, so we interpret *corrugias*.

¹⁶ Ecclus. x. 13.

oh, how bitter will be, not the thought, but the experience of that! O delicate flesh of man or woman, or soul that hast been nurtured in all this luxury, consider the bed which awaits thee, though thou dost not believe it! There 'the shadow of death, and no order, but everlasting horror dwelleth ;'¹⁷ there for pride and magnificence will be vileness and confusion, there for unbridled delights will be unending torment, there the heaping up of riches will find itself repaid by penury that shall never be satisfied ; as Isaías says, 'Thy pride is brought down to hell, thy carcass is fallen down, under thee shall the moth be strewed, and worms shall be thy covering ;'¹⁸ and as Amos adds, 'Woe, therefore, to you that sleep on beds of ivory and are wanton on your couches.'¹⁹

We see here how naturally St. Bernardine turned to the great truths of our condition and of our faith to point his invectives, and how easy was his command of Scripture for illustration. The last section of the sermon before us gives a terrible list of the various kinds of garments which the people of his day kept in their wardrobes. There were dresses for ordinary days and feasts, middling, great, and greatest, dresses of gold and silk, green, red, and white, blue and rose colour, some for summer, some for winter, some for the country, some for the town, dresses for rain, dresses for snow, dresses for day, dresses for night ; some were "retorta," others "distorta," broad and slender, long and short, some with wings, some with close sleeves, others with no sleeves at all, some open before, some open behind, some at the side, and some so short as to cover nothing that ought to be covered. How many changes, how many shirts, of silk or cotton, what an amount they have cost! what a quantity of linen that is never used ! what a number of vessels of gold and silver and of beautiful workmanship kept hidden in chests, or only produced for pomp and show ! Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity ! He ends the sermon by another attack on the preachers and confessors who sanction such abuses and do not proclaim their unlawfulness.

The sermon from which we have drawn so much is only one of four, as we have said, which St. Bernardine has left us on the subject of female vanities and luxuries. We must pass lightly over the remainder, which are, however, in themselves very well worthy of study, and are in many respects of universal application. Such, at least, is the sermon which we find shortly

¹⁷ Job x. 22.

¹⁸ Isaías xiv. II.

¹⁹ Amos vi. 4.

after that which has been already quoted, "on the multitude of evils which follow from vanities." It is next but one to the former, and is assigned to the Thursday in Passion Week, the day on which the Gospel of the conversion of St. Mary Magdalene is read in the Mass. The text is taken from the words of our Lord—"Many sins are forgiven her, because she hath loved much," and after a few sentences on the conversion from good to evil and from evil to good, he sets the blessed penitent forward as an example of the last. What were her many sins, he says—taking, as it seems, the gentler view as to her life which is sometimes found in Christian writers—but proud "curiosities" and superfluous vanities, through which by her bad example and the corrupting of many persons, she had committed many sins? There are many who are ignorant like her, who have been guilty of innumerable impieties as consequences of their vanities, and so they do not know how to repent. And it follows that they know not how to gain pardon for their offences. Hence the need of enlightening them. Then he comes to his former text about God's hatred for vanities and superfluities, and proposes to add to what has been already said upon it the reasons for this hatred on the part of God, in order that others may follow Magdalene, and change their foolish fondness for vanities into the fulness of divine love. There are three kinds of evil which follow from vanities, and these furnish the three divisions of the sermon—evils of particular persons, special evils, and general evils.

Four sorts of persons in particular are injured by the vanities against which he speaks—the parents of the girl on whom the pains are spent, the husbands of such women, the artisans and workpeople who make their dresses, and those who help them to deck themselves out. The special evils are the evils which are done to four other classes—the companions who associate with such women, the young men who are tempted by them to evil desires, other women—naturally prone to vanity—who are encouraged by their example, and lastly the poor, who are in truth the creditors to whom these superfluities are due, and who are defrauded of what belongs to them. The general evils are first spiritual—the sins which are committed on account and by occasion of all this finery; then corporal—the hindrance to the birth of children which the expensiveness of female adornment occasions in various ways; thirdly, temporal evils, inasmuch as the money which is sunk in dress and jewelry is unproductive,

and cannot be used for trade or art, while, on the other hand, much of the material purchased is wasted on account of the change of fashion; and lastly, judicial evils, for God first of all sends to people given up to these follies His preachers to reprove them and warn them, and then, when words have been of no avail, He sends His scourges—war, pestilence, famine, and the like, as St. Bernardine proves from various passages of the prophets.

These are a number of very grave heads of indictment against the follies against which the Saint is speaking. There are the outlines of a fine address to mothers and fathers under the first section of the first article. In the second article we notice particularly the strong way in which St. Bernardine speaks of the danger to the souls of men which is often occasioned by the adoption of the bad fashions of the day, as to dress and personal adornment, on the part of ladies who would shrink from the notion of falling into actual sin themselves. Very noteworthy also are the few sentences as to the injury done to the poor. The doctrine of the theologians of the middle ages was that superfluities belonged to the poor, as of right, and that those who defrauded them of their right sinned by injustice as well as against charity. This doctrine made them use very strong language about “the blood of the poor,” quoting such texts as that of Jeremias, “In thy skirts is found the blood of the souls of the poor and innocent,”²⁰ or that of Ecclesiasticus, “The bread of the needy is the life of the poor, he that defraudeth them thereof is a man of blood.”²¹ In this passage St. Bernardine draws a picture of the misery of a poor family perishing with hunger, cold, and nakedness, the marriageable girls without clothes, shut up at home, the children craving for bread, which there is no one to give them, the parents sick in bed, or shut up in prison, and unable to aid them, “While you,” he says, “a she-wolf of insatiable vanity, are dragging the blood of the poor along the ground in your train, you are making a boastful show of your pomp and proud extravagances, and spreading out with fastidious vanity wings large and full of blood, showing with what great speed you are flying on to hell.” Equally striking is a passage in the last “article” about the check to the birth of children which is caused by vanity and expensiveness. Many men are afraid to marry, or marry later than they would, on account

²⁰ Jerem. ii. 34.

²¹ Ecclus. xxxiv. 25.

of the cost of keeping their wives in dresses, jewelry, and the like. Many parents can only find dowries for one or two daughters, and force the others to remain unmarried, or send them, unfit, to convents. Meanwhile, the men who remain unmarried lead vicious lives, pursuing girls or wives or widows with unlawful attempts, or even giving themselves up to still more abominable crimes.

There is another sermon on female vanities in the "Lent" *On the Eternal Gospel*, for the Friday after Passion Sunday. In this St. Bernardine takes the locusts which are mentioned in the Apocalypse²² as representing vain women, and draws out in his own ingenious way the various kinds of mischief which they occasion. The origin of vanities, he says, is well shown in the passage of the Apocalypse. For the origin of worldly vanities is the proud prosperity of the world, for ungrateful men abuse the prosperity which God allows them, and are puffed up and exalted with pride. Thus St. John says "From the smoke of the pit there came out locusts upon the earth." For what is the smoke of the bottomless pit but elation and pride, which are said to proceed from the pit because they are occasioned by the temptations of the devils which kindle them by means of prosperity. He quotes the line—

Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque secundis,

and the words of the prophet, "They have lifted up their heart, and have forgotten Me."²³ Then he describes the characteristics of the locusts, and draws out his parallel. The locusts appear first in summer, then when the south wind blows they multiply by generation; thirdly, they sing and skip; fourthly, they have wings; fifthly, the largest part of them is their belly; sixthly, they are insatiable; seventhly, they consume every green thing; eighthly, they are silent in winter; and ninthly, when the north wind blows they generally all die. So is the vanity of women, and so are vain women themselves. They appear in the summer of temporal peace; when the south wind of prosperity and riches blows, they are multiplied; thirdly, at such times they dance and sing lasciviously; fourthly, they spread out the wings of their sleeves and other pomps; fifthly, they are more belly than anything else, for they are generally carnal, and "their God is their belly," as the Apostle says; and besides they are insatiable

²² Apoc. ix. 3, seq.

²³ Osee xiii. 6.

in their vanities ; they consume all the green of grace and virtues from the souls of men wherever they abound, and in the winter of adversity, of war, pestilence, and tribulation, they are silent ; and when the north wind of their last day blows, then these women of vanity, whether they will or not, have to die. The second part of the sermon is taken up with the "malignities," or mischiefs, which these women cause, which are no less than sixteen in number. The last part dwells on the injuries which are done by vanity to God, to the persons themselves, and to their neighbours. The whole of this treatise, for so it is, is full of substantial matter, put, of course, quaintly and plainly, but there are very few of the counts of the indictment which can be said to be untrue or fanciful, and the whole discourse is founded upon the long passage in the Apocalypse about the locusts which St. Bernardine is here applying to his own purpose.

It may well be imagined that the preacher would not lose the opportunity given him by the mention of the tails of the locusts in the vision of the Apocalypse, to attack what we may almost call his "favourite aversion" in the dress of the time, namely, the long trains which the fashion of the day—in anticipation of the discoveries of our more enlightened times—had made common. But the "classical passage" in which St. Bernardine has poured himself out upon this abominable vanity is to be found in another sermon in the "Lent" *On the Christian Religion*, the forty-seventh, for the same Friday after Passion Sunday, in which he fulfils his promise of speaking particularly and at length of two vanities which he had passed over in the sermons which have been already quoted from that collection. These two abuses are dealt with in the sermon before us, in which he begins with the words of Caiaphas, "You know nothing, neither do you consider,"²⁴ and thus gets to the subject of the ignorance which is often the punishment of folly. "That this ignorance may be dispelled," he says, "and that you may come to see more clearly the deformity of your souls, I will take the mystical figure of St. John in the Apocalypse,²⁵ where he says, 'A great sign appeared in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars.' " This, he says, represents the soul of the militant Church adorned with all virtues, clothed with the sun of charity, with the moon of worldly vanity under

²⁴ St. John xi. 49—50.

²⁵ c. xii.

her feet, and on her head a crown of stars of intellectual brightness. So it was of old, but alas! now there is a new Apocalypse of what we see manifestly before our eyes, and in this there is another more marvellous sign in the sixth chapter, that is, in this sixth age of the holy Church in which we live, and this sign is a woman besmeared with paint, and a tail under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve foolishnesses (*stultiarum*). The three parts of the sermon deal, first with the abuse of paint and false hair, then with the tails, and then with the head-dresses of the ladies of the time.

It would not be difficult to amuse our readers indefinitely by multiplying quotations from this racy sermon. We may be sure, however, that if St. Bernardine used satire and ridicule for the purpose of correcting the evils of his day, he was all the time very seriously in earnest. As to paint and false hair, he lays it down, after Alexander of Hales, that women thus adorned ought not to be allowed Holy Communion, inasmuch as they are in a state of sin and offend God, sin against their neighbour, and also against themselves. It must be added, however, that the Doctor whom he follows distinctly says that he supposes a bad intention in those whom he thus condemns, and does not consider that these vanities are mortal sins when they are used simply to hide deformities, or that a lady may make herself more agreeable to her husband. The severities, however, St. Bernardine finds it in his heart to say against the tails seem to have no palliation. He enumerates the twelve abuses of tails in the following sentence, "What the tail of a woman is, experience itself attests, nothing but the multiplication of evil expenses, the similitude of an animal, muddy in winter, dusty in summer, a broom of fools, an infernal censer, a peacock in the mud, a cause of blasphemy, the rapacity of pride, a serpent of hell, a chariot of devils, and a blood-stained sword of Satan." He has something to say under each of these heads, but we cannot follow him through them all. As to the resemblance to animals, he says that God has made men and women without tails, but that the devil glories in making them like beasts, as a manifest sign that they have lost their resemblance to God. "Man, when he was in honour, did not understand: he hath been compared to senseless beasts, and made like to them."²⁶ But the wonder is, that the animals are outdone, for they have never more than one tail, whereas women have four, or seven, and sometimes more than twice as many.

²⁶ Psalm xlviii. 21.

They are truly monsters, because they still remain biped, and retain their upright position. So that they must either lay aside their tails, or, if they do not want to be thought monsters, they must make the thing complete and go on all fours. When he comes to prove that the tails are the abodes of blasphemy, he speaks of the curses of the servants who have over and over again, day after day, to get rid of the mud and dust which those tails have gathered, and then he goes on : "I forbear to speak of the curses of the poor when it is winter and they are suffering from cold, and see the mud clothed, as it were, in these costly garments, while their flesh and that of their sons and daughters, by the savage impiety and hard compassion of the ladies thus dressed out, is tormented with cold, frost, hunger, and thirst." "Open thine ears," he cries, "O lady with the tail ; listen diligently, O obtuse mind ; attend, O deaf soul, and thou wilt hear the voices of weepers calling for vengeance unto their God." Seldom will you find a vain and train-wearing lady who has any compassion in her heart for the poor. The twelve foolishnesses of the head-dresses he lays down to be, that a head so adorned is swollen with pride, a tower of Babel, a banner of the devil, a mockery of Christ, a sign of luxury, doubleness of heart, the sanctification of crime, a decoy of souls, the snare of the demons, a prodigy of devilry, the throne of Satan, and the chastisement of passions. But we must perforce stop in our rapid account of the abundant materials which are here collected to bear on the point in question.

IV.

We are told in many places in the Lives of St. Bernardine, that the vigorous onslaughts which he made against the vices and follies of his time, were by no means unfruitful. In many places he succeeded in exterminating, in particular, the miserable feuds which divided the inhabitants as into two hostile camps ; and it is also related more than once that pigments, and false hair, and other vanities of dress and personal adornment, were burnt in heaps in the public squares after his sermons had been delivered. The extracts which we have been enabled to make, and countless other passages which might have been added to them, show at once the strength and plainness of his preaching, and also that he knew how to make his hearers laugh as well as how to make them cry. The picture which is thus drawn for us, at least in outline, of his contemporaries, is

certainly far from pleasing. Those were bad times, and there were many other abuses—of some of which we may speak in another article—besides those two which we have selected for present illustration. At least, however, it may be said for the people to whom the Saint preached, that they came to hear him in large multitudes, and at considerable inconvenience; that they listened to him attentively for hours at a time, and that to some extent they were reformed by his preaching. It is probable that at that time the people who outraged morality did not also insult religion by spending half-an-hour in gossip and flirtation in the porch of a church, while service or a sermon was going on, and then sailing in with all their finery and kneeling down, in frivolous hypocrisy, to enjoy the music of a Benediction. Their extravagance was less elegant than that of our days, but their heads were not quite so empty, or their hearts quite so hard, as those of the modern votaries of fashion.

We may shudder at the picture which he draws of the factions in Italy, but it may be questioned whether even those factions were more cruel than the military masters of modern Europe, who have enslaved hundreds of thousands of men by the conscription, and send them to slay one another in war for some motive of policy with a cynical indifference to the sufferings of large masses of their fellow creatures of which Guelphs and Ghibellines were hardly guilty. We may smile at the vanities of the Italian women described in the second series of our extracts, but it is probable that, if their expensiveness was enormous, at least their immodesty did not equal that which is tolerated without reproach in the society of the present day. When we consider how hard the Saint of Siena is upon such comparatively inoffensive follies as paint and false hair, it is not difficult to conceive what he would have said if he had had before him the modern fashion of dress, which dates, we believe, from the worst days of the Orleans Regency; if he had known of "round dances," and had seen the enthusiastic frequenters of immoral French plays presenting themselves, after a night at the theatre, at the altar rails for Holy Communion. Indeed, it is clear from his sermons, that balls, and ballets, and the worst iniquities of modern costume, were as unknown to the ladies of his time as the novels of George Sand or Ouida, or as the theatres and casinos and music halls and *cafés dansantes*, and the other hideous depravities of modern Paris or modern

London. We suspect he would think the young ladies of the nineteenth century even more reprehensible, on the ground of impudent indecencies, than the Italian women with their tails under their feet and their crown of twelve foolishnesses on their heads. In like manner, it would be easy to point out many great social miseries, prevalent in our time, of which he makes no mention. To these, however, it is quite easy to apply the principles of morality and Christian duty which he lays down. On the other hand, many things which he says are almost as pertinent in our day as in his own, such as his denunciation of luxuries as preventing marriage, or his strong declarations as to the duty of spending superfluities upon the poor. We hear a great deal in the present day about the dissolution of the social fabric by means of the bad philosophy and of the denial of religious principles which are current among the lower classes. The complaint is undoubtedly true, as the evil is undoubtedly momentous, but it would be well if the silly women of the upper classes, who make no scruple of consuming the worth of a year's maintenance for several poor families in the utterly superfluous adornment of their bodies for a night or two in the London season, could be got to understand that they are in their miserable measure enhancing the already frightful alienation of class from class by their selfishness, and hastening on the social crash which may some day sweep them and all like them to perdition, as well as many other things far more worthy of preservation.

We may also notice the Saint's remark that the greatest work of the Christian pulpit must always be the correction of abuses and the proclamation of true maxims on such subjects as those with which he deals, and we may part with him for the present with the prayer on our lips that that pulpit may not be wanting, in our own most corrupt age, in the vigour, the temper, and the fearlessness of which St. Bernardine has left behind him so many wonderful instances.

Salvini.

A FEW months ago this name would have called for some introductory remarks which now are quite unnecessary. "Who is Salvini?" would then have been the question. "What new thing have you to say about him?" is what now will be asked. And here, indeed, is our chief difficulty in finding an excuse for writing at all; for, in all probability, we have nothing new to say. There is, of course, an advantage in writing upon a familiar subject, at least when it is one which has not lost its interest; an advantage, we mean, in time and space, because we can save so much of both when we can plunge at once into the midst of our subject and do without the explanatory introduction, which is often as trying, both to writer and reader, as the preliminary canter and the false starts which precede many a grand race. But what our theme gains in this respect it loses in interest, at least in that kind of interest which novelty itself stimulates. And so the damaging question which we have ourselves suggested, and which indeed haunts us as a spectre, rises again before our mind, and we ask ourselves, What special reason can we give for touching a subject which has already been so well handled by the daily press.

Well, here it is. We think Salvini has not been dealt fairly with in one, and that a very important respect. He seems to us to have been examined too exclusively from our English stand-point, and so our view has been narrowed and his Italian conceptions overlooked or undervalued. Critics have looked to see how he realized our national conceptions of Shakespeare's characters, rather than tried to throw themselves into his Italian cast of mind, and to estimate therein the success of his portraiture. It is obvious enough that this alone is the fair way of judging the actor, and yet it seems strangely to have been overlooked in the otherwise excellent criticisms which have followed his performances, alike in the metropolis and the provinces, at least as far as our experience goes. Our attempt will be to remedy, in some measure, this defect

or oversight; and in so doing we shall touch upon points which have raised misconceptions in some minds and brought upon Salvini unjust comments, which undoubtedly have marred the enjoyment of his performances to many who otherwise would have been among his most enthusiastic admirers.

It is, then, partly to supplement much that has already been written that we put pen to paper, and seek to give expression to our thoughts about Salvini, but chiefly because we cannot help writing, because we find a relief to our own feelings in bearing testimony to a great success, and because gratitude compels us to take the first occasion that offers to thank a great actor for the pleasure he has given us. And now, perhaps, some reader may be tempted to exclaim, Here is another panegyric on Salvini! Is the spirit of criticism dead, that nothing short of unmeasured praise can be uttered about this new actor? And this he will be the more excused in exclaiming if he is of the number of those unfortunate people who have not seen Salvini. It is indeed hard, if not impossible, for such to understand the form which criticism has assumed in respect to this great tragedian. But we may venture to remind such, that criticism does not necessarily imply censure, although, unfortunately, it is too often taken to mean this and nothing else. "He is nothing if he is not critical," implies this narrow view of the critic's office; but surely the snarling cur is not a pleasant form in which to embody criticism. There is a generous and admiring spirit which can find pleasure in discovering beauties which do not lie upon the surface, and which loses none of its dignity in running to meet excellencies, and welcoming them with full and hearty applause. There will ever be narrow and suspicious minds which cannot appreciate criticism such as this, and men who will shake their heads and look wise as Sir Oracle, and "smell a rat" when bitterness has no place in the critique and not a single sneer is to be found in the glad recognition of new interpretations. Ah! there it is! These new interpretations are a terrible stumbling-block in the way of such critics as we are here imagining. "You have seen Salvini; did you ever see Edmund Kean?" If you have not, they smile in compassion and ask no more. Evidently you are not educated up to the mark; you have not seen the great standard, so how can you presume to judge? This is indeed hard upon critics under fifty, seeing how many years have passed since the great Kean died. They may,

however, find consolation in the knowledge that the young admirers of Kean were treated with equal contempt by the critics of the previous standard. The Kemble-ites and the adorers of Garrick looked upon Kean as a dangerous innovator upon the received traditions of the stage, and smiled with that same stereotyped compassionate smile which the elders, who have seen the great Kean, have now for the admirers of Salvini. Of course it is the old story over again, "Nothing like what we saw in our youth." Forgetting that they themselves are growing old, and that the feelings of youth, once so warm and impulsive, have left strong impressions rather than correct judgments behind, they bring these treasured feelings to bear upon their present weakened appreciations, and misjudge what is before them by comparing it with what perhaps never existed but in the dreams and exaggerations of warm-hearted and hot-headed youth. It is a generous feeling in a perverted form—generous in its continued love of what delighted them in early days, and so far deserving of all respect, but perverted in that it shuts their eyes to new beauties, and closes their hearts against those who have as great a claim upon their admiration.

For ourselves, we are, unfortunately, old enough to remember Edmund Kean, at least in his last days, in two of the three characters Salvini has put before us. We have a sufficiently distinct recollection of the black—lampblack—face, and nigger woolly head of the Othello of that day; and we have not forgotten the eyes that flashed beneath that hideous head dress, nor the glorious deep-toned voice which thrilled the heart and swayed it at its will, moving it at times to its lowest depths.

There is no need to question the great genius of that wonderful actor—a genius which forced its way through difficulties which would have crushed any one less innately great; which, with little or no education and the trainings of barn-theatres, grasped the greatness of Shakespeare's masterpieces and made them his own; which, in low stature and heavy form seemed to rise, and intellectually did rise, to the grandeur of the parts, so that, with Desdemona, we learned to

See Othello's visage in his mind.

But surely this appreciation of Edmund Kean need not, and ought not, to stand in the way of our admiration of Salvini. Rather should we rejoice that the great line of Shakespearian tragedians is thus prolonged; and if, as now, Italians take place

in what we have so long considered our national privilege, why, so much the greater should our rejoicing be when the national has grown and expanded into the universal,—when not only the new world contributes men like Forrest to the list, but the old lands, putting on a new life, claim place with us in doing honour to the great dramatist, who, in so many respects, is still essentially our own. It is, indeed, a new thing, to many of us at least, to hear Shakespeare in the Italian tongue, though, in truth, Ristori and Rossi have for many years done what Salvini is now doing. It seems, of course, stranger here than in Italy, but there is a congruity in it, at any rate in certain plays, of which we will presently speak. But a word in passing upon what it is doing in Italy. It is now some twelve years since we first saw Rossi (who is now playing in London) in his chief character, Hamlet, at Turin. The house was crowded to excess; the audience was painfully attentive (for, in truth, one scarcely dared to breathe freely), and all were wrought up to a high pitch of excitement. Rossi is a great actor; but it was Shakespeare that was moving the people; it was *our* poet they felt and honoured; and of this we had a rather startling but very Italian proof when the play closed. A gentleman, who had sat silently beside us, suddenly turned round and grasped our hands in a warm embrace. Of course, he did not know us, nor we him; but this seemed to him the easiest and therefore the most natural way of expressing his gratitude to Shakespeare, by joining thus in amity with one of Shakespeare's countrymen. We must not undervalue the influence of the great poet upon Italy in the fresh career and renovated life upon which it is entering. Well would it be for that land of such rich memories and anxious thoughts if all its teachers were as good as the great dramatist. Anyhow, it is satisfactory to think that so mighty an intellect and so wise a mind is so well received and so highly appreciated.

Some such recollections and thoughts as these, perhaps, made us welcome Othello in its Italian form more cordially than we might otherwise have done. A courteous welcome, of course, was due to a foreigner, but more could scarcely be expected from those to whom Othello in this "questionable shape" was quite unknown.

Some people, indeed, seemed to think that Shakespeare in Italian would be no longer Shakespeare, and that the translator had been guilty of a kind of sacrilege in laying hands upon

our national idol and softening his Northern tongue into the sweet music of the South. This, perhaps, it was that kept so many away from the theatre, especially on the first night. Many grew wiser as time went on; but, in truth, the too short season came to an end before others, who would have highly appreciated the performances, screwed up their courage to the point, and so the great intellectual pleasure has been lost, at least for the present.

There is, as we have said, a certain congruity in an Italian version of "Othello." The scene is laid in Italy, the characters among which the Moor lives and moves are Italian; and so when the curtain rises upon the Grand Canal at Venice, what more natural than that Iago and Roderigo should enter talking Italian, and that they should arouse Brabantio with the true Italian cry, "Olà, Brabanzio, olà! Messer Brabanzio!" The well-considered accessories, and the careful training of every actor, down to the very crowd itself, is of course Italian too; and so, as we so often wish, and wish in vain, the local colouring is there which makes the scene Venetian.

But among them moves a form which is not Italian, although it is Salvini. It is no negro, like Kean's Othello; it is an Oriental of altogether a different and a higher type. Any one who has seen the Sultan, or the Shah, or even their photographs (though of course their pictures can convey no idea of the play of features or movement of body which characterize the men of this race), can form some idea of what Salvini becomes in "Othello." We say becomes, because it is something so much more than ordinary acting, which only pretends to be. There are the rich costumes, which show careful study of originals, and the Oriental love of colours, with the innate knowledge of their effective use. The complexion is a rich brown, dark enough to give effect to the free use which Salvini makes of his eyes—and which use indeed seems only excessive to those who do not consider the character which is before them—but yet not so dark or opaque as to deaden the play of the features beneath. This is all artistic, and though good in its way, may be copied and used by ordinary actors. But "there is that within" which gives life and meaning to these outward symbols, and places not an actor playing "Othello," but Othello himself before us. And so it comes to pass that we very soon find ourselves not criticizing Salvini's Othello, or examining his ideal of the character, but

watching the workings of Othello's mind, and the play of the fierce passions which work within him. For indeed those passions, fierce alike in love and hate, are uncontrolled by the ordinary restraints of society, and rise or sink with an impetuosity which is almost as much animal as human. This indeed startles, but is it not in keeping with Othello's nature? Is not that Oriental nature tiger-like? Otherwise, how can we account for the thirst of blood, and the utter indifference to human life, which Oriental annals so generally record? Such evidently is Salvini's reading of "Othello." His love for Desdemona is quite of this character. He gloats over her acknowledgment of her "divided duty," and her choice of her husband before her father, and again when she resolves to go with him to Cyprus; his feelings are uncontrolled. He sees not the Doge or magnificos, he has no room in his heart for other than the one thought of love; or if he sees them, it is with that supreme indifference with which we have seen the Sultan himself look on at a shouting populace, or rise and quit an entertainment when he has had enough of it, though royal princes were inconvenienced by his abrupt proceedings. He is not intentionally rude, for that implies thought of others; he is thinking of himself alone, and of the feelings that move him. And this will explain many of the peculiarities of posture and expression which have puzzled critics who have not made allowance for this tiger nature of the Moor. The spring at the throat of Iago, the tearing action that follows that wild movement, the hurling to the ground, and the hardly suppressed trampling upon the prostrate form, are animal in their fierceness, even to the inarticulate cry which accompanies them.

Again, who can forget the crouching position in which Othello turns round from the low death-couch of Desdemona, and glares upon "honest Iago," now that the full tide of light has broken in upon him, and he sees how he has been deceived, and by whom. It is the tiger's spring that we look for, and we almost wonder that it is a man's rush, and not an animal's bound, across the stage. Now it is that we can understand how Othello could strike Desdemona in an earlier scene, and how he could drag her to her bed of death. She, poor simple child, could not comprehend the wild nature to which she had allied herself; the fierce form of love which had won her from her home and race, was more the fascination of a strong nature over a weak one, of a basilisk over a dove, than anything else.

The grandeur in repose, which is so king-like in the highest order of animal nature, had won her imagination, and she gave her heart, with her "frank hand;" but when another passion came, and love passed through jealousy into hate, she could not understand Othello, and simply stood amazed, and, indeed, added to the fierce pangs which agonized his heart by words and deeds which sprung only of her unsuspecting innocence.

It is a bold, but a consistent reading of the character which few would venture upon, and still fewer realize. Salvini has made it his own, and worked it out with consummate skill and wonderful success. He has many natural advantages, which careful study and thorough training alone can have brought so completely under his control. His voice is very musical, and if not powerful in middle passages, can be raised without strain to meet any requirement of passion. His grand, manly form has wonderful grace and dignity, while his noble features are as fine in repose as they are expressive under every variety of emotion. His eyes, which are fine, are much used by him, perhaps somewhat too much, according to our northern notions. But we should judge him by an Italian standard, if we would do him justice, and then this, together with his redundant action, would not seem excessive. There is, of course, a difficulty in this, especially to those who have seen no actors but our own in Shakespeare's plays. It is hard for them to free themselves from the trammels which our stage traditions have laid upon us, and to judge apart from these of what is put before us. And yet we must obviously do this if we would be critics in any but the narrowest and most prejudiced sense. The soliloquies with their set forms and established points, their well-weighed cadences and their declamatory action, are altogether changed; and are, indeed, scarcely recognizable in Salvini's performances. They, for once, become natural, for they are uttered more as broken fragments of speech, as thoughts which "force their way against the will," and seem rather the communings of the mind with itself which we chance to overhear, than speeches intended for us. Need we wonder, then, if old-fashioned critics, whose strength lies in their judgment of how these set elocutionary exercises are and ought to be given, are altogether at fault, and cry out against an innovation which sets their whole craft altogether at defiance. Their outcry is much like that of the old classicists who could endure nothing without the

three unities, and who were indignant when nature superseded the rules of the schools, and the grand manner gave place to the real. But we must bring our remarks to a close. Enough if we have succeeded in clearing up any difficulties in the way of understanding Salvini's Othello, and removing any prejudices which have been excited against it. We have no space to touch upon his Hamlet or Macbeth, which, thoughtful and excellent as we believe them to be, do not strike us as so original in their conception, or so complete in their realization, as his Othello; and so it is that we agree with the general public in valuing most this his most popular part. He has now returned to London, where Rossi is also playing; rumour says that Madame Ristori will join them there, and that the three dramatic stars of Italy will shine together. This indeed is rather to be wished than expected. Should it come to pass, we may exclaim with the poet—

May I be there to see.

H. B.

The Catholic Church in Poland under the Russian Government.

THE recent issue of the second edition of *The History of the Catholic Church in Poland under the Russian Government*, by Father Lesceur, of the Oratory of the Immaculate Conception, is our excuse for reverting to a matter which has been handled more than once of late in the pages of this periodical. Gathering his materials, as he proceeds, from State Papers, the accounts of eye-witnesses of the scenes described, the author brings his narrative down to the present day, and furnishes us with an intelligible account of the catastrophe which, but a few months since, destroyed the last vestiges of the Uniat Church in the Russian dominions. It may not be wholly needless to observe that in the now extinct Kingdom of Poland, besides the Catholics following the rite of the Western Church, the Latin, or Roman rite, there were several millions belonging to Churches reconciled, in the course of the sixteenth century, to the peace and communion of the Apostolic See, but allowed, nay even obliged by the Popes to maintain the ritual and disciplinary usages they had inherited from Constantinople which, for a while at least, had involved them in the Photian schism. They were known as the Uniats, or Catholics of the Greek rite, or Ruthenians, on account of the origin of the greater number of them who descended from the Slavonic tribes on the western borders of Poland proper, to which they had gravitated. The ties first formed by treaties, territorial and other alliances, were knitted more closely by intermarriages, the community of history, interests, and of religious belief, so that long before the partition, they were, to all intents and purposes, as Polish as the Poles with whom they welded into one common nationality. Thus much by way of preface.

It is now more than a century since the first dismemberment of Poland was effected at the suggestion of Frederic the Second.

By fanning the flames of intestine discord, the Tzarina, Catharine the Second, was enabled to justify the armed intervention which led to the partition of 1793. But two years later, the combined forces of Russia and Prussia crushed the uprising headed by Koziuscko, and what remained of Poland was divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. It is foreign to the subject-matter of this paper to unfold the series of events which led to the assassination, as it may well be branded, of a Catholic nationality. Our present purpose is to lift up the veil with which the interested statements of Russia and its partisans, as well as the studied silence of the liberal press, have succeeded in hiding the long agony of a Catholic race from the public gaze and the public conscience of Europe.

Surrounded by the armed satellites of Russian despotism, the Diet of Warsaw was compelled at length to sign the odious treaty of spoliation concluded at Grodno in 1793. By dint of firmness, they obtained, as a safeguard of their religious freedom, the insertion of the following articles—(1) Roman Catholics of either rite, who shall pass under the rule of her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, shall enjoy throughout the Empire, conformably with the system of tolerance therein established, not only the full and free exercise of their religion, but, in the provinces now ceded, they shall be maintained in the strict state of actual hereditary possession. (2) Wherefore, her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias takes upon herself, her heirs, and successors, the irrevocable engagement to maintain, for ever, the aforesaid Roman Catholics of either rite, in the undisturbed possession of their privileges, property, and churches, of the free practice of their religious worship and discipline, and of every right connected with such worship, hereby protesting, both for herself and her successors, that she will never make use of her imperial prerogative to the detriment of the Roman Catholic religion of either rite."

As may be seen, nothing could be more explicit, as far as words go, but scarcely was the signature which ratified this treaty dry, when a secret committee of Russian Bishops met at St. Petersburg, to advise means for driving the Uniates into the communion of the State Church. As is *naïvely* confessed by Count Tolstoy, the Procurator-General of the Most Holy Governing Synod, in his history of Roman Catholicism in Russia, Catharine, despite her treaty engagements, was fully determined to destroy the last vestiges of the union of Churches

of the Greek rite with Rome. By the advice of Eugenius Bulgari, a Greek adventurer, a body of missionaries, under the direction of Sadkowski, Archimandrite of Sluck, was established in the newly annexed provinces. The *modus operandi* of these new apostles may be thus briefly described. A manifesto teeming with golden promises for such as would forswear the Union, was backed by a detachment of soldiers, whose outrageous cruelties ended by wearying out the constancy of a certain number. The priests who refused to pass over to schism were driven forth with their families, or imprisoned. In places where the church had been built before the final re-integration of the Union, at the close of the sixteenth century, an administrative decision pronounced, that having been brought about by constraint and violence, the Union was illegal, and the parishioners were handed over in a body to the official Communion. Such is the history of the "conversion" of the several Uniat dioceses of Ukraine, Luck, Wladimir, and many others. True, it is scarcely in keeping with the explanation supplied by the Tzarina in her letter to the Pope, who is told that on the vacancy of a Uniat parish, the people were asked to choose the rite and communion they liked best, but then the Tzarina forgot to add that the local authorities, if they knew what was good for themselves and for those they represented, could return but one answer to the official inquiry. To give but one other instance of this "wise dealing." An imperial Ukase issued about this time decreed that no parish could contain less than a hundred families, where this number of households was not attained, the parish was to be merged into the neighbouring one. We need only add that as the Polish provinces of Russia are by no means densely peopled, this measure, so harmless in appearance, effected, as it was meant to do, the suppression of hundreds of parishes, whose incumbents were reduced to beggary, and forced thousands to forego, at least in the winter season, the consolations of religion.

The "mission" was all but a complete success; churches, monasteries, bishoprics, were handed over to the State-Sect or suppressed. The diocese of Polock alone was exempted from the general havoc, owing to the less zealous obedience of the local administrations.

We purposely linger over the details of Catharine's legislation and policy, for to the present hour they are the abiding type, the unvarying plan of the war waged by the Russian

Government against Polish Catholicity. Having given a specimen of her dealings with the Uniats, we now pass to those she had with the Catholics of the Latin rite. Shortly after the first dismemberment of Poland, the Tzarina, of her own sovereign will, established the metropolitan see of Mohileff, with a view to withdraw the Catholics of White Russia from the jurisdiction of foreign bishops. She was unhappily inspired in her selection of the first titular of the see of her creation, Stanislaus Siestrencewicz, one well fitted to second the plan of undoing the Church by the hands of her very pastors. During the fifty years of his incumbency (1774—1826), this unhappy man employed his credit at Court and his unquestionable talents, not for the service of the Church, but to make the Church serve his own ends. The history of his promotion may help to show that brilliant attainments, and rare intellectual gifts, though ever so desirable in the pastor of souls, cannot be deemed an equivalent for blamelessness of life, for genuine piety, for a hearty devotion to the interests of Christ, inseparable from those of His Church, and of the souls He bled to ransom.

Having passed from the study of Calvinistic theology into the Prussian army, where he won his epaulettes, the future Metropolitan was compelled, in consequence of a duel, to seek service under the Polish standard. Having resigned his captaincy, he became tutor in the princely house of Radziwill. While there, he wooed an heiress, and, pending the negotiations, abjured his Calvinism. On the failure of his matrimonial project, the Bishop of Wilna, who admired his acquirements and talents, offered to admit him to Holy Orders. He was subsequently made Canon, and presented to Catharine by his Bishop, who wanted him for his coadjutor in the administration of the part of his diocese that had recently fallen to the share of Russia. He was consecrated under the title of Mallo *in partibus*, and the following year (1774) took possession of the see of Mohileff.

The new Metropolitan, at the very outset, made it plain that the destinies of the Catholic Church in Russia were, for the next half century, to be swayed by a Russian official in the disguise of a Catholic bishop. To avoid greater evils, the Roman Curia, and its Nuncio at Warsaw legalized the abnormal position and encroachments of the new prelate on the jurisdiction of his fellow-Bishops *in partibus*, and the autonomy of the exempt Regulars. Invested by an Apostolic Rescript with a commission to visit for three years the religious establishments of his vast

diocese, instead of using his delegated powers conformably with the sacred Canons and the Tridentine decrees, he enforced, as the supple tool of the Autocrat, a series of regulations most fitted to disorganize Regular institutions, obliging every Order, without regard to its special vocation, to devote a certain number of its members to the education of youth, paralyzing the nerve of Regular discipline, by the substitution of the authority of the Diocesan for that of the respective Provincial and General Superior. Here we have an often-repeated story, to which history continually bears witness. The assailants of the autonomy of Regulars belong, for the most part, to those who have aimed, more or less consistently, at sundering, or at least slackening, the sacred tie binding the Episcopate to the Chair of Unity, the divinely appointed guarantee of its fruitfulness, its influence and independence of the undue control of the secular power. By safeguarding the permanence and normal activity of religious orders, the immunities conferred upon them insure the continuance of their devoted efforts for the general advantage; but what we value still more highly, they bear unmistakable witness to the real and living presence of the Pontifical monarchy in every part of the ecclesiastical organism, and those who would unduly restrict them have usually been accomplices of the short-sighted policy which tends to make the Church a function of the State, and to reduce its ministers to an abject dependence on the civil power. In the instance before us, the man who proclaimed the wholesale subjection of religious establishments to the diocesan Bishop, was to perpetuate the mischief of his calamitous career by obtaining the establishment of the "Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical College," a fitting pendant to the Most Holy Governing Synod, and planned like it, to degrade Catholic bishops to the level of those of the State Church, the tools and puppets of a soulless and meddlesome bureaucracy.

Before taking leave of Catharine, we may observe that the Metropolitan of Mohileff was her accomplice in her machinations for the enslavement of the Latin Churches, the wholesale overthrow of the Uniat body, and of Papal authority and influence within the Russian dominions. The counts of this indictment are gathered from the posthumous encomia heaped upon his memory by Count Tolstoy in the work already mentioned. While striving to vindicate the policy and personal character of Catharine (assuredly no superfluous task), he draws with

amusing complacency a portrait of the recreant prelate, of which his grovelling servility, his life-long betrayal of a sacred trust, are the most marked traits. The death of Catharine (1796) by a stroke of apoplexy, in circumstances not unlike those in which Divine Justice overtook Arius, saved for a while the Church and arrested the ruin in which, alas! the hand of a chief Pastor was but too plainly visible.

The honesty and fair-mindedness of the two immediate successors of Catharine, put an end to the persecution which she had inaugurated, despite the most solemn engagements, and for a time, at least, saved the Latin Church in Poland and the last remnants of the Uniat body. The remembrance of Paul's hospitable reception at Rome, when on his travels, had favourably impressed him, and he forthwith took measures to establish friendly relations with the Holy See. At his request, Litta was accredited as Apostolic Nuncio to the Court of St. Petersburg, with a view to the settlement of the situation of the Catholic Churches of either rite. The Bull *Maximis undique pressi*, dated from the Certosa at Florence, where Pius the Sixth was kept a prisoner, re-established for the Uniats, the sees of Polock, Luck, and Brzesc, for the Churches of the Latin rite, the metropolitan see of Mohileff, the bishoprics of Samogitia, Wilna, Luck, Kamniec, and Minsk. Another act, of no less importance, was the abolition of the supreme jurisdiction exercised by the College of Justice over the Catholic Churches. Paul established in its place an administrative board, or council, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Mohileff. As will be seen later on, the numerous changes made in this well-meant institution have since rendered it an engine of despotism in its war against the rights of Catholic conscience and the liberties of the Church.

Despite, however, the good intentions of the Tzar, whose eccentricity, bordering on insanity, hastened the catastrophe which deprived him of his throne and his life; despite the even-handed justice of his immediate successor, Alexander, there was much to excite the just, though ineffectual, complaints of the Holy See. Nor can this be wondered at when we reflect that boundless as is, in theory, the power of the Tzars, it is tempered, like other despots, by official routine, and by the prejudices and interests of the agents it must needs employ. The traditions inaugurated by Catharine had not died with her: they were perpetuated by the recreant prelate who sat on the

metropolitan throne of Mohileff. By an untoward inconsistency, Paul, who had dismissed from his Court most of his mother's creatures and favourites, had exempted Siestrencewicz from his sweeping measures of reform. The unhappy man used his influence to baffle the Nuncio, and soon succeeded in obtaining his dismissal. Since that time, while continuing to maintain diplomatic relations with Rome, the Court of St. Petersburg has all along refused to admit any agent, or envoy accredited by the Apostolic See. The departure of the Nuncio made the Metropolitan master of the position. He drew up his famous Regulations, which, ignoring the immunities of Regulars and the prerogatives of the Papal primacy, placed the supreme control of the ecclesiastical administration in his own hands, reserving, of course, an absolute and final *veto* to the civil authority. He was, however, not permitted to enjoy his quasi-patriarchal position. Members both of the secular and regular clergy, the Jesuits especially, whose spokesman was the celebrated Father Gruuber, carried their protests to the Tzar; the Metropolitan was deprived of the presidency of the Catholic "College" or Board, and ordered to his diocese. He was succeeded by his coadjutor, Benislawski, in the presidency of the Catholic College, or administrative Council.

With a prelate such as Benislawski at its head, this ill-starred institution might have been rendered serviceable to the Church and the Holy See. As it happened, his brief tenure of office proved most advantageous, on account both of the reforms he operated, and the salutary and enduring results of the measures he was instrumental in bringing about. We have already observed that Paul's first care on his accession was to reverse his mother's policy and to discard her favourites. On one point, however, he followed in her footsteps. He continued to the Society of Jesus the protection she had extended to it, as may be well believed, from interested motives. It was at his express demand that Pius the Seventh issued the Brief which regularized the position of the Society in Russia, and thus furnished a precedent for the Brief obtained in 1804, by Ferdinand the Fourth, of Naples, whereby the Society was restored in his dominions, and paved the way for the complete reversal of the Brief of Suppression by the promulgation of the Bull, *Sollicitudo omnium Ecclesiarum*, August 7th, 1814. Nor were his good offices confined to this signal service. He confided the Catholic Church in St. Petersburg to their adminis-

tration, and gave them full liberty to open schools throughout the Polish provinces of the Empire. His tragic death was soon followed by the return to power of the Archbishop of Mohileff, who was thus free to work out his plan of establishing himself as quasi-patriarch, as may he supposed, under the supreme control of the civil power. To his machinations was due the promulgation of the Ukase of November 1st (13th), 1801, establishing the Catholic Board or College, which subjected the Catholic Church within the Empire to a dependence on the civil power, no less galling than that imposed on the official communion by the creation of the Peter the Great, the "Most Holy" Governing Synod. We spare our readers the details of a measure planned by a Catholic Bishop against the sovereignty and freedom bequeathed to the Church by her Divine Founder. An energetic protest, drawn up by the Bishop of Samogitia and signed by many other prelates, had all but convinced Alexander of the crying injustice of his recent decree, when the Metropolitan succeeded but too well in persuading him that the modifications suggested by his compatriots, and inspired, doubtless, by the Papal Nuncio, would encroach on the rights of the State, an argument which, by the way, though threadbare from its frequent use, is made to do good service now-a-days in cloaking the real character of legislation directed against the imprescriptible rights of Catholic conscience. Thus, despite the upright intentions of the Emperor Alexander, Catholic interests were left at the mercy of an institution, which subjected them to the whims and caprices of a despotic and non-Catholic power. The wretched prelate, in order to secure his influence, took good care to aggregate to the so-called Catholic College members as unprincipled as himself, among whom was a dissolute Franciscan Friar, who later on forswore his religion and his vows, and a Protestant brother of his. To the scandals he caused by his overweening ambition may be added his frequent sentences of divorce, which made a painful impression even on non-Catholics. And if we may believe Count de Maistre, his underhand intrigues with Alexander were the main cause of the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Russian dominions. For, in justice to Alexander, it must be borne in mind that he more than once defended the Church against the recreant Archbishop. To take but one instance, the latter in a pastoral address to his diocesans earnestly advocated the Bible Society then recently established

in England, and misquoted in the document a text of the Holy Council of Trent, as well as a recent Brief of Pius the Sixth. Pius the Seventh reprimanded the unworthy prelate in a Brief of September 3rd, 1816. According to his wont, Siestrencewicz made very light of this, as of all other Papal mandates; but the Tzar was so impressed by the considerations to which the Pope drew attention, that he ordered the publication of the Brief, and put a stop to the *colportage* of the Bible Society's agents. Nor was his action less favourable to Catholic interests in the still more important question of divorce. One of his last acts was to propose at a diet, held in Warsaw, in May, 1825, the amendment of the Code Napoleon then adopted by the kingdom of Poland, involving the abolition of civil marriage. His influence, joined to that of the Bishops, succeeded in carrying this amendment. At the very eve of his death he decreed the erection of two Catholic churches, one for the Uniats, in the capital, and the other for Catholics of the Latin rite, at the well-known imperial residence of Tzarkoe-Selo, setting apart a site and funds for both buildings. It has been asserted on high authority that at the close of his life, he was reconciled to the Catholic Church, or that he was, at least, resolved on that step. The late Pope has been heard to say that Alexander's public abjuration of schism was in course of preparation, but was prevented by his death, which some have whispered was hastened by poison. Moroni, in his *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical History*, appeals to documents extant in Rome and elsewhere, as proving that this Emperor breathed his last in the peace of the Church. Thus much is unquestionable: he deserved and won the affectionate gratitude of his Polish subjects and of the Catholic Church: a gratitude rendered still more lively by the contrast of the dark and dreary period of trial and persecution inaugurated by his successor.

Nicolas took up and brought to its fulfilment the work of Catharine, which had been temporarily and partially suspended by the kindly intentions and personal qualities of Paul and Alexander. Under the mild and equitable sway of the latter, the numbers of the Uniats bore witness to a considerable and steady increase. At the accession of Nicolas, in 1825, this increase came forthwith to a standstill. The date here given is not without its significance; the alternations of craft and sanguinary violence which marked the thirty years of the late Tzar's reign are usually explained, or excused, by a reference to

the Polish insurrection of 1830. True, this calamitous event supplied the cruel despot with a pretext, and enabled him to throw dust into the eyes of the European public; but long before the Poles had given the slightest token of chafing under the yoke, Nicolas had planned the ruin of their national Church. The main end to which he directed the powers of his mind and the energies of his will, was the threefold unification, religious, political, and national, of his vast empire. The Catholic Church, the only one that can oppose a serious obstacle to despotism, be it that of demagogues during their brief tenure of popular favour, or of a crowned autocrat, was in his way. This sufficed to determine him to wage war against it to the death. With a steadfastness of purpose, worthy of a better cause, he sought by legislation to clog and paralyze its freedom of action, he spared neither bribes, nor promises, and did not shrink, as will be seen, from open persecution, in order to be rid of this hated opponent. History seems to repeat itself. Catharine the Second had been abetted in her nefarious designs by Siestrencewicz; Nicolas had his Siemaszko, of whom the nuns of Minsk could tell a tale. It is needless to say that he far outstripped his predecessor and model in villainy. Before going into the detail of his misdeeds, which he crowned with apostasy, we will briefly introduce him to our readers.

Joseph Siemaszko, having gone through the usual curriculum of clerical training, took priest's Orders at Wilna. In 1812 he was, for his misfortune, made assessor in the Uniat department of the Catholic College at St. Petersburg. At the accession of Nicolas he failed not to read the signs of the times, and to fit himself to win favourable notice from the ruling power. As early as 1827, he favoured Nicolas with a private view of his plan for the total abolition of the Uniat Church, and true to his character allowed himself to be presented, three years later, to the Holy See for the Uniat Bishopric of Lithuania. His whole life, which ended but in 1868, was devoted to the realization of this plan, and his hand, or his advice, may be traced in most of the acts whereby the Russian Government has extirpated of late Catholicity in Lithuania.

This plan, for a long time kept in the *adyta* of ministerial archives, has lately been brought under the public eye. We cannot deny it the one merit, rarely to be met with in documents, whether diplomatic, or official, emanating from Russian Chanceries, that of plain-speaking. We present a summary of it to

our readers, as it contains the germ of the several oppressive measures adopted by the Tzar and his representatives, for the ruin of Catholicity. After a preamble, wherein the author traces the main features of the policy of extermination, unblushingly avowed by Catharine the Second, despite her engagements, we pass on to his several proposals, all of which were hereafter to furnish the text of future ukases. The first was the creation of a Uniat "College," specially charged to prevent all ritual innovations and to enforce the observance of the ancient rites. The next was to unite various dioceses, and to select for the vacant sees safe men, that is, men vile enough to take more or less part in the treason of the author of the plan. Then follow suggestions for keeping the candidates for Holy Orders in the Uniat Church from all contact with Latin students and professors; for diminishing the number of religious houses, with a view to prevent conversions to Catholicity; for abolishing the interior hierarchy of the Regular Orders, which were to be wholly subjected to the diocesan jurisdiction, as is the case, says the Memorial, in the dominant, *i.e.*, schismatic Church. Finally, measuring other men by his own standard, Siemaszko counsels as a most effectual means of proselytism the bribery of consciences by self and place, by the insignia of dignity and precedence. As will be seen, Nicolas availed himself of the astute hints contained in this paper, which stood him in good stead in the war which he declared against Catholicity, within a month after his accession.

The Ukase of February, 1826, opened the ball. It forbade the sale, at fairs and such like gatherings, of religious books in the Sclavonic dialect, issuing from Uniat presses for the use of members of that Church. This slight preliminary was followed, two years later, by the Ukase, which, in conformity with the plan presented by Siemaszko, established the Uniat "College," on the lines laid down by Siestrencewicz of unhallowed memory, for the Roman Catholic "College." Its effect was to destroy the organization given by the Holy See, in accordance with the late Tzar, to the Uniat Church, and, as Gregory the Sixteenth truly observed, in his Allocution of the 22nd of July, 1842, to subject the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction to the good pleasure of the Russian Government, which it was meant to do. The whole series of the principal acts of which the history of Nicolas' dealings with the Catholic Church in Poland consists, was but the logical development of

this edict. It contained in germ the wholesale exclusion of the Bishops and Regular prelates from all control over the education of the clergy, whether secular or regular ; the foisting of laymen, and even of non-Catholics into the ecclesiastical administration ; the disorganization and destruction of religious communities by arbitrary regulations, which simply condemned them to die out for want of subjects, when they were not more summarily dealt with by a decree of suppression ; the studied delays in filling vacant sees, and the presentation of persons unfitted by decrepitude, or evil repute—a system copied from Catharine the Second ; the deportation of thousands of Polish children torn from their families, and dispersed over the empire, to be brought up in the official schism ; the formal prohibition of correspondence with Rome ; the re-enactment of the severest penalties against all attempts to convert a Russian subject ; the application to Poland of the Russian law concerning mixed marriages, enforcing the bringing up of the issue of such unions in the State religion and annulling them when celebrated in presence of the Catholic Pastor only ; the suppression of numerous parishes, under the pretence we have seen do such good service in Catharine's reign, that their population fell short of the official requirement ; the prohibition to Latin priests to administer the Sacraments to persons unknown to them ; and lastly, the official suppression of the Uniat Church in 1839, heralded as it was to the world at large by the public apostasy of three bishops.

Before entering into details we think it well to observe that Nicolas, equally with Catharine the Second, was bound by treaties, had pledged his oath, even after the suppression of the Polish insurrection, to respect the consciences of his Catholic subjects. He thus showed himself somewhat in advance of his age. Europe, at the present time, condones the open violation of the most solemn engagements, when the property, the rights, the freedom of the Catholic Church are in question. But to proceed. The method employed to bring about the desired result was to corrupt the clergy, and by gradual approximations to the ritual of the State Church, to lead their flocks imperceptibly into the paths of schism, while affecting the most single-minded zeal for liturgical purity. Then, as within the last few years, the agents of Muscovite proselytism appealed to the Papal Constitutions, which strictly forbid any innovation in the

approved Oriental rites used by the Eastern Churches that have returned to the Communion¹ of the Holy See.

The sole fact which Siemaszko and his accomplices could allege were certain modifications of ancient usage, by the famous Synod of Zamosc, held in 1720, which was, after some hesitation, confirmed by the Pope,² who took care to affirm at the same time, the legality and independence of the Oriental rite. Besides a few ceremonial details, borrowed not from the Latins, but from the most ancient *Euchologia*, the Council ordered the insertion of the *Filioque* in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, and a special prayer for the Pope of Rome in the Liturgy as well as in the other offices. To encourage the frequentation of the Sacred Tribunal and of Holy Communion, the three days' fast imposed by the Eastern Church on intending communicants was abrogated, and the practice of administering the Blessed Sacrament to mere infants ordered to be discontinued. In dealing with this part of our subject it may be well to observe that the Eastern Churches which have returned to Catholic unity, shook off by that very step the petrified immobility of the Photian communities, and have partaken of the life and movement of Catholicity. Since the days when Cerularius consummated the unhallowed work of Photius, heresies, the fruit of intellectual activity, have necessitated certain dogmatic developments which have taken outward shape and expression in devotions unknown to the eleventh century. Nor can we forget the ever-present influence of the spirit of grace and prayers on the Church. The Papal Constitutions appealed to in the interests of official proselytism, could not reasonably be construed as excluding the Uniates from all share in these more recent developments of Catholic piety, such as the solemn worship of the Blessed Sacrament, the rosary, pious confraternities, the regular frequentation of the sacraments. Yet it was under this flimsy pretext that Siemaszko and his fellows in treason forced upon their clergy missals and

¹ In the Constitution, *Etsi Pastoralis* (May 26, 1742), Benedict the Fourteenth insists on the absolute equality of the clergy of the Oriental rites with those who follow the Roman, or Latin rite. Precedence among the clergy of the different rites is to be regulated by priority of ordination. In the Bull *Demandatam* (December 24, 1743), the same illustrious Pontiff strictly forbids passing from the Greek, or any other approved Oriental rite, to the Latin. His Constitution, *Allate* (July 26, 1755), recites the several efforts made by his predecessors to maintain the Oriental rites in their integrity as they existed before the schism, and lays upon all missionaries the strict injunction neither to encourage nor to countenance their converts adopting the Latin rite.

² Benedict the Thirteenth, in the Brief *Apostolatus Officium*, 19 July, 1724.

service-books printed at Moscow in 1831, wherein the *Filioque* and the prayer for the Roman Pontiff were suppressed. These innovations caused a great stir among the people, as we learn from a petition wherein fifty-four priests of the districts of Novogrodek begged in vain of their bishop to be allowed to continue the use of their old missals. As for the clergy, it must be remembered that for obvious reasons the nominations to the vacant parishes of either rite were left to the governor of each province. This worthy failed not to select the most disreputable and tainted ecclesiastics he could find; no wonder, then, that many yielded too readily to pressure put on them from above. Yet, as the sequel will show, there was a goodly number whom chains, shameful stripes, and the living death of banishment to Siberia could not vanquish, who preferred hard labour in the galleys and the mines to schism, and could not be moved by the ruin of themselves and families. A spurious legality was made to speed the work all this violence aimed at accomplishing. Whole parishes were officially declared to belong to the schism whenever the baptismal registers gave the least colour to the assertion that their churches had been built for, or held, though for never so short a time, by the adherents of the State religion, or whenever the police could coax a few rowdies in a neighbourhood into calling themselves orthodox. Once the "conversion" *en masse* had been officially gazetted, any parishioner who remained a Catholic was liable to all the penalties decreed against apostates from the State Church. The final blow which was to annihilate the Uniat Church was delayed for a while by the firmness of the aged Metropolitan, Bulhak. His heroic constancy was proof against the terrors and seductions of the myrmidons of power, and the credit his virtues and grey hairs had won rendered it inexpedient to remove by violence an obstacle which death was soon to put out of the way. To dis honour his memory and to scandalize the faithful, the Tzar ordered that he should be buried with all pomp and circumstance, as a Metropolitan of the State Church, in the vault set apart for these dignitaries at the Convent of St. Alexander Newski.

No sooner was Bulhak gone to his reward than Siemaszko and his two mitred accomplices made a public act of apostasy. A synodal resolution giving notice of their separation from Rome and union with the State Church, appeared in the *Official Gazette of St. Petersburg*, February 12 (24th), 1839. Of this

document, destined to mislead the public opinion of Europe, all that need be said is that its mendacity is only surpassed by its grovelling servility. It was followed by others no less remarkable for parsimony of truth ; and to cap all, the Tzar had a commemorative medal struck, with the inscription : " Separated in 1595 by hate, reunited in 1839 by love." A brief sketch of some of the means taken to force on the absorption of the Uniat body into the official Communion, will enable the reader to appreciate the bitter irony lurking in this last word.

For refusing to adopt the Russian service-books ordered by the Uniat " College," or Ministerial Department, Micewitz, Rector of Kamieniec in Lithuania, with seven other priests of his neighbourhood, was confined for six months in the crypt of a church and kept on bread and water. For his persistence in his refusal he was sent into banishment. His son, a child of eight years, was by Siemaszko placed at a schismatic school, and daily subjected to the rigours of scholastic discipline for the purpose of shaking his father's constancy, who died of ill-treatment in a monastic prison. The Basilian monks of Lyskow, on hearing of the arrival of Siemaszko, called together the inhabitants, confessed one to another in their presence, and celebrated Mass, during which the Archimandrite, Bocewitz, exhorted all to be firm in their faith. The venerable monk was, by the apostate's order, confined in a fetid hole, and as he was soon reduced to a dying state, the latter had the insolence to present himself to hear his confession. The other Basilian monasteries were in like manner handed over to schismatics, who became the gaolers of the former community, and overwhelmed their prisoners with indignities and ill-treatment. One of these victims addressed a petition to the Tzar informing him of the cruelties he and his fellow confessors had to undergo. He got nothing by his motion but repeated floggings and confinement to a dungeon, where he was let starve to death. The authorities gave out that he had expired in a drunken fit ! The people, too, had their share in these demonstrations of " love." Whole villages were " converted " *en masse* by the sharp but effectual process of shameful exposure and ignominious stripes, applied with no sparing hand to men, women, and children ; the quartering of bands of soldiers on the refractory inhabitants, in some cases the firing of their dwellings ; and when all else failed, the scattering abroad of the children of the several families, deportation even to Siberia. The dying

struggles of the Uniat Church will ever be connected with the heroism of the Abbess of Minsk, whose testimony Russian diplomacy and its organs strove to invalidate by denying the existence of a monastery of Basilian nuns at Minsk. Amid the nameless inflictions to which she and her spiritual daughters were made to undergo, she bethought herself of recourse to the Tzar, who, as she imagined, could not be aware of the cruelties committed in his name. The autocrat returned the petition to Siemaszko, their torturer in chief, with the significant words inscribed on the margin, in his own hand : "Holy and venerable Metropolitan, what you are doing is holy and venerable. I approve of what you have done and will continue to do!"

J. M'S.

Convicts in New Caledonia.

A LATE number of the *Correspondant* contains an article which promises to be the first of a series on convict life in New Caledonia, the least known, the writer thinks, of any of the French colonies. The present paper confines itself to the Ducos Peninsula, the part of the colony assigned to the Communist convicts with regard to whom the proposal of amnesty has so frequently come before the French legislature.

It is no easy matter, it seems, to visit the peninsula unless you happen to be a "personage," or at least closely connected with the authorities of the place. The only private persons admitted are the provision contractors who come on business at long intervals, and in very rare instances persons authorized to give large orders to the convict workshops, and even they are allowed to speak of nothing but the matter in hand, and that only in presence of the military overseers. The writer before us made one of a party of Caledonian "notables," at whose disposal a vessel had been placed by the head of the convict service, Colonel Charrière.

The peninsula contains two "camps," that of Numbo, and that of Uatimburu, each having about five hundred inhabitants. The convicts of the former are much the superior class; at Uatimburu there is *plus de métier et moins d'art*, and it is with the camp at Numbo that our informant is chiefly occupied. The little vessel crossed the bay known as the "Baie sans fond," where the Australian cattle which supply the convicts with meat are landed. Here, too, is the *abattoir* of Nouméa, which attracts such an immense number of sharks, that the animals have to be brought ashore in boats, instead of the simpler and cheaper course of throwing them into the water to swim to land. An ex-governor of New Caledonia once described the place as having "sharks on one side and anthropophagi on the other," thus giving his hearers a feeling of much security as to the safe-keeping of the convicts. The meaning of the second part of the statement will be seen farther on. As to the sharks, it is only

to the south of the peninsula that they are found in such abundance.

At first the shores are bright and cheerful with houses and plantations, but after rounding the northern point you have a long chain of perfectly bare, desolate, yellowish hills, "looking," says the writer, "as if made on purpose for the entrance of a place of expiation :" and the faces of the sentries at the landing-place seemed to tell the same tale—grave, silent men, with quick watchful eyes, ready to fire at any vessel venturing to approach without the pass-word. The head superintendent, who received the visitors, served in the late war with great distinction as captain in the *garde-mobile*: his forty-two subordinates, too, are all old soldiers or sailors. At his *laissez-passer* the party entered the military quarter where the commandant and about two hundred and fifty soldiers are lodged. Ten powerful Australian horses stood in a shed, saddled and bridled, and not far off their riders, booted and spurred, ready to mount at the slightest alarm. The commandant was on the point of starting on a visit of inspection through the peninsula and invited the strangers to accompany him. The telegraphic cable had just been laid down between Nouméa and the island Nou; formerly it was necessary to cross an arm of the sea in order to communicate, causing a delay which would have been fatal in case of mutiny, and sufficiently awkward in case of an escape. One can hardly wonder at the irritation of the convicts who were employed in the work: *C'est un peu dur*, they said, *de travailler contre soi!*

The camp of Numbo is in a valley beautifully situated on a bay shut in by hills, the slopes of which are partly cleared of the trees and underwood with which they were originally covered, and there are patches of potatoes and Indian corn, and even little poultry yards ; still, small as the valley is, the extent of cultivation is yet smaller, the agricultural element being found in a very low proportion among the convicts, indeed, the writer says that, " Judging from the appearance of the peninsula, there would soon be a famine in a country peopled by Communists." It is strange that this should be so in this case, as the convicts are absolute proprietors of the land they cultivate ; the Government gives it to them without claiming a single centime of the value of the crops, and the market of Nouméa affords a ready sale for all articles of food, so that with a very moderate amount of industry an immense profit may be made.

The party were much struck by the respectful and courteous manners of the convicts. It was difficult to realize that these were the cowardly traitors who refused to march against the enemies of their country, and who said openly to the officers who gave out the cartridges : " *Donnez, donnez toujours, il n'y en aura jamais assez : ce n'est pas contre les Prussiens, c'est contre les bourgeois que ça sera bon.*" No wonder that a Frenchman, remembering this, should feel indignant at the indulgence of their treatment, and be startled at finding himself returning the salute which not one failed to give. These good manners are of recent date ; it is not long since the officers on duty in the camp were insulted openly, and severe examples had to be made of the boldest offenders, but by degrees they came to wreak their spite, when so disposed, on their companions, and to welcome any face, even an official's, which was not that of a convict. The writer thinks, too, that the sweet influences of nature, the healthy country life which they really live, are not without their effect even on a Communist, but he was assured that nothing has acted with a more tranquillizing, almost miraculous charm than a circumstance which he relates as follows :

M. Naquet—little Naquet, the deputy—had written a sentimental letter, just at the time of our visit to the camp, to " his dear friends, his brothers, his children." He explained to them, in language well known to them all, that with all his goodwill, neither he nor his political allies could do anything more for them, that the Senate they were going to have did not emanate entirely from the great universal suffrage, and that there would be a remnant of reactionary spirit in that body. That this Senate would possess the right of veto, and that if it should happen that the Lower Chamber were to propose the amnesty, it would come into collision with a mass of inflexible wills forming the majority in the Higher Chamber. M. Naquet went on to say that to these reasons must be added another, no less powerful—that, namely, of Marshal MacMahon holding office. According to him, the conqueror of Magenta would not hesitate to offer his resignation in case the proposition of amnesty should be made, and the mere threat of this would induce all the adepts of the vapid Republic which must be tolerated for a few years to vote against the return of the convicts. The scene will not change till seven years are over. Then farewell to Senate, Reactionaries, and Marshal ; the Democracy will have been prepared for 1880. Then the pure Democrats will come into power. There will be none but pure Democrats ! That will be the day of days ! Then will come that glorious amnesty ! The most comfortable vessels

will be commissioned to bring back to France the martyrs to their political faith ; they will be *feted*, appointments will be given to them, all that they have suffered will be made up to them ! But, *en attendant*, and till 1880 be prudent, very prudent—quoth M. Naquet !

“ 1880 ! ” said the convicts. “ It’s a long way off ! Are we to remain unpardonable four years more ? We are in the midst of everything calculated to create a suitable way of living, and are we to give up these immediate advantages for the prospect of protection, four years hence, held out by Citizen Naquet ! These expectations are very dubious. He is not a prophet, this little Naquet, and should he be as powerless at the end of the seven years as he is now, he has only to write and tell us that he made a mistake in 1875, and that the hopes he then had are not capable of realization. We shall be the only sufferers by the four lost years ! ”

This letter made the round of the camp. Its first effect was consternation ; a feeling which soon gave way to reasonable sentiments, to a sounder appreciation of the situation, to a sincere resolution of heartily profiting by every opportunity which should offer of utilizing the resources of the country, and of once for all leaving off playing the part of thankless and stupid grumblers.

The governors, as well as the governed, had learnt their lesson, and grown wiser by experience. At first, there was over-indulgence and great laxity of discipline, the one principle seemed to be to *ménager* the convicts, the most ordinary formalities were avoided for fear of irritating them, and the overseers found their office becoming intolerable ; then came the natural re-action, and the strictness so much needed degenerated into undue severity. The writer observes that the great thing in managing these difficult subjects is to set clearly before them that the infallible consequences of misconduct, insubordination, and mutiny are loss of comfort, imprisonment, hard labour, and the gibbet, while good behaviour and industry as surely bring advantages and rewards. There will always be some brutal and ferocious natures who must be curbed and ruled like savage beasts, but these are exceptions.

The appointment of Colonel Charrère was an excellent measure. Thirty years of military service is a good school in which to learn the difficult art of commanding men, as well as how to judge what are the stations to be watched, the thickets to be cut down or searched as affording convenient hiding-places. As to moral discipline, he has a firm faith in the possibility of regenerating a criminal, and has set himself vigorously to the task. He has a wonderful memory, and

knows the history and behaviour of numbers of the convicts most accurately. When they are free he arranges marriages for them, sets them up in a farm or a store, and speaks to them earnestly and warmly of their duties, letting them feel that, let the past have been what it may, they have a future before them in which labour, order, and industry will make them good and useful citizens. Often, indeed, his benevolent efforts are without result, but who shall say that the good seed may not spring up at a later day, and *one* instance of success would justify the attempt.

Among the convicts there are, as has been said, comparatively few who take kindly to agricultural pursuits. Skilled workmen, on the other hand, are numerous—some of them real artists in what are called "*articles de Paris*," and very early in his relations with them M. Charrière conceived the idea of encouraging and developing the talents of these men, who were wasting their time in idle political discussions or forming plans of escape. He advanced the necessary funds for the purchase of materials, and established a kind of agency between the producer and the public. There was no deduction made for the common benefit—the whole of the profits were for the workman, with the proviso that when they had attained a certain sum fixed after a prudent calculation, and leaving the workman amply sufficient for a comfortable livelihood, the surplus was to be placed *en dépôt*, and could only be handed over to the proprietor on M. Charrière's *visa*.

The visitors were much interested by the workshops. Many of the articles in terra cotta were ornamented with graceful designs; in one instance Pradier's *Dormeuse* had been cleverly turned into a native woman. The cabinetmaker's was, perhaps, the most interesting of all the *ateliers*, the magnificent woods of the country affording materials for every kind of *meubles de luxe*. "Ici on ne parle que par louis," remarks our author, and certainly the artisans of the Ducos Peninsula seem to rate their workmanship pretty high. There was a talk of some library bookcases for an approaching exhibition in Australia, for which the price was to be 5,000fr. for the work alone, the wood, *bien entendu*, being provided for them! For some bas-reliefs which were to be carved in the same style they asked 250,000fr., and really appeared to think that there were plenty of merchant princes at Melbourne and Sydney who would consider them cheap at the price.

These men seemed absorbed in their work, full of interest, energy, industry ; it was almost impossible to believe how lately they had drunk in the poison of revolutionary doctrine offered to them by such leaders as Rigault and Vermersch. And earnest labour was, as usual, rewarded ; they had all the comforts and some of the graces of life in their dwellings, and it was pleasant to see the pride with which some of them showed a table made of a wood called *niaouli*, not so much for the sake of the table, as because they had been the first to discover that this wood, which abounds in the colony and has always been thought worthless except for fuel, can be employed in cabinet work.

The following scene in the house of a convict artist is graphic and interesting—

"Good morning, Mr. X," said the commandant ; "has your leg arrived?"

"Not yet, *mon commandant*—that fellow Z. keeps me waiting long enough!"

Surprised by this odd beginning of a conversation, we looked at the artist, who then for the first time perceived that the commandant was followed by a large party. Startled by the sight of so many visitors, he gave a sort of bound on his chair, and hastily catching up palette and brushes in his right hand, he rose, as if moved by a spring, to salute us ; then he sank down as abruptly, and we saw that his right leg is twisted so that he cannot stand on it. The one of which the commandant spoke was an artificial limb, which was being repaired by another convict.

"Excuse me, gentlemen ; you see that I have not the use of my legs." He was slightly confused, but soon regained composure, and seeing us form a circle round the easel at which he was seated, he began in a strong, loud, almost theatrical voice : "The subject I am painting, gentlemen, is an episode I witnessed at Wissembourg, in the late war. It is the defence of the standard of the twenty-fourth line regiment. There it is, you see, in the middle of a square. Well, in that square there were soldiers of all sorts—line, chasseurs, zouaves, turcos. What a grand thing it was ! And to think that no one has heard of it ! I never saw anything to equal it, and yet, heaven knows, when I was an officer——"

The word seemed to choke him. He was seized with indescribable emotion, he tried in vain to go on, a terrible convulsion compressed his throat, his face became livid. He looked at us one after another in a bewildered manner. He was overwhelmed at having let his secret escape ; then, as though touched by the pity we felt for his distress—

"I have told you, you see, gentlemen. Well, it is the truth ! You

see what I am, but I was an officer, and in a fine regiment—the mounted chasseurs! This leg of mine——”

Once more the artist's emotion checked his utterance; but it was easy to see by his flashing eyes the strength of the recollections which agitated him. We were expecting the description of some cavalry charge, some night attack, in which he had received the wound which had disabled him. But his confidence did not go so far; and to put an end to the trying scene, we began to talk of painting, which greatly pleased the old artist. I say old, for this invalided soldier, first of his country, then of the Commune, must be quite sixty. His hair is perfectly white, he has a fine, intelligent, dignified head; one of those men of vigorous character and keen energy on whom age does not tell. We noticed, too, his extraordinary mobility of nature. In ten minutes he passed from that state of livid paleness to one of almost playful chatter. Not a trace of the officer and Communist; he was the painter, thoroughly devoted to the delights of his art. He settled the programme of his compositions with childlike *naïveté*.

“Now confess,” he said, “that for a Caledonian studio, there are resources here. I don't deny that a battle-piece is what I like best. When I set to work at that, I care for nothing. I am not at much expense here, and I am easier to please than my Paris *confères*. Now, gentlemen, would none of you like your portrait done in oils?”

“Not I, sir,” answered one of the inhabitants of Nouméa, with a laugh. “I must own that I have just been to the photographer's, not thinking myself enough of a great man to have my likeness taken in oils.”

This very innocent remark had the effect of an electric shock on the eccentric artist. His face was again agitated; from gay he became grave, then sad, then angry. “For the matter of that,” he said, bitterly, “are all the people great men who are painted in oils?”

From that moment the man who had been pleasant and polite was rude and disagreeable. We had seen the officer, the good fellow, the artist; now we came upon the Communist. Evidently the cause of his irritation was that, by the mirage of their portraits, were recalled to his mind indirectly all those social celebrities whom it is usual to paint, and for whose overthrow he had joined the revolutionary party. We therefore brought our visit to a hasty end, and took leave politely but coldly of the man who had touched us so sincerely a moment before.

One of the most promising industries is a soap manufactory, and it was eagerly explained that the soap they made with cocoa-nut oil and other colonial products was likely to rival the choicest *savons de Marseille*. There is much jealousy at Nouméa on the subject of all these advantages so liberally afforded to the convicts. The men whom a certain party in France regard as martyrs are considered in New Caledonia as

unjustly favoured, to the detriment of the free workmen of the colony, and this bitter feeling adds another to the many difficulties with which the local government has to contend.

The hospital, to which a chapel is attached, is situated in the same part of the camp as the *ménages*, to which allusion has been made. The sister in charge, who was on the best terms with M. Bascans (the commandant), was Irish, but spoke French perfectly, and the writer says—

What struck us in this religious, who was still young, was not only the variety and justice of her ideas, it was also a wonderful tact, and a natural dignity which was as free from want of reticence as from masculine confidence. Most certainly it requires no ordinary women to come to make their abode and gain influence among people with whom war to Christianity was a watchword: and when we took leave of this Irish sister, we felt that we had met one of those rare beings fitted to rule the perverted, and to touch the hard heart by the mystery of their charity and self-devotion.

The hospital is a model of cleanliness and good order; it is entirely of planks, but the ventilation is perfect. It is built on the plan of the American hospitals, which are burnt every five years, to prevent the absorption of morbid matter in the walls and partitions. The patients, without an exception, were suffering from consumption. The sister said it was the plague of Paris.

People come to this country who have never known what it is to breathe fresh air: they have lived in an atmosphere of gas and dust, which they only leave to go to theatres and taverns. You cannot imagine how they improve in Caledonia: we can hardly believe some of them to be the same men we saw arrive!

The sister had a little dispute with M. Bascans on the subject of a promise to provide prisoners to attend to her hospital garden. The commandant insisted that their services were required for making a road, but she conquered in the end, and got her prisoners, who were delighted to be at her orders.

One great advantage of the camp at Numbo is an abundant supply of excellent water, the more precious as it is very scarce in this part of the country. The convicts themselves discovered the springs, which are never dry, and from which they are at liberty to draw at discretion.

The last part of the camp which was visited is known as *le quartier des intransigeants*, and a melancholy visit it must

have been. Here, like dangerous animals, the irreclaimable convicts are penned. Here,

In their kennel they realize the dream of the Communist, to live in idleness at the expense of the State. Degraded in their language, their songs, their behaviour, they remain isolated like venomous reptiles, inspiring fear and disgust in all around them; fear, because they are fond of using the knife, that weapon of the coward. A few days before this time, one of them had used it to kill a companion, and we saw the place where he had been shot—for justice is speedy here.

A piece of table-land separates the camp of Numbo from that of Uatimburu, which is even fairer and more fertile than the former, and this natural division is the only one between the two. It commands both camps so perfectly that the overseers are able to distinguish the different convicts below by name; for there is a station at this point, and if a mutiny should break out, cannon would be brought here in a few minutes from the one at M'bi.

The party observed, close to the sea shore, a much larger house than any in either of the camps, surrounded by a wide veranda. It is the abode of the terrible Louise Michel and five of the pétroleuses of the Commune. No one is allowed to see these imprisoned fiends, who are all said to be horribly repulsive in their appearance. Louise herself has literary pretensions, and conducts a paper bearing the title *Les petites Affiches*.

Not far off was visible the "Ile des Pins," where are some of worst characters among the *déportés simples*. The island is lovely, and its climate charming, but the overseers dislike the station, which our author describes as "le règne du franc mauvais sujet."

The extreme point of the peninsula, Point Kumuru, is forbidden ground to the convicts, and soldiers are stationed to prevent their going there. In the time of M. Thiers, when it was the right thing to favour the criminals protected by the Left, the dense forest which clothes this part of the peninsula was their *Bois de Boulogne*. Then came Rochefort's escape, and the excitement consequent on it. Energetic measures were adopted, and strict orders were given that no convict should be allowed to set foot on Kumuru except under the charge of an overseer. From time to time parties are conducted to the forests to cut down trees, and though the valuable woods

are becoming scarcer every day, they sometimes come upon a rare prize in the shape of rose or sandal wood.

This prohibition of Kumuru to the convicts was a wise and even necessary measure. Nothing can be easier than to embark from the Point in canoes or on rafts, and the forest contains innumerable hiding-places—masses of underwood, and caves masked by thick curtains of *lianes* or creeping plants, so that patrolling parties might pass through it day after day without discovering the hundredth part of these natural *cachettes*. But there is another danger still. At four or five hundred mètres from the land lies the little uninhabited island Freycinet, and the narrow channel dividing it from the peninsula could easily be crossed by a very ordinary swimmer. It is full of rocks to hide him in the short transit, and once in the island it would be easy to lie *perdu* in one of its many caves till the opportunity of embarking on board a vessel presented itself. Accordingly, this channel is the object of the strictest *surveillance*, and three little schooners ply about it day and night, each having on board an experienced pilot, who repeatedly takes the soundings of the winding shore, and at the slightest alarm a boat is sent off to the suspected spot, or signals exchanged with the stations on the land. The whole system seems to be a model of prudence and first-rate organization, in which it would be hard to suggest an improvement, but what has been said is enough to show how many dangers and difficulties have been overcome, the very existence of which could only be learnt by experience; and one can but smile at the animadversions made on the subject some time ago in France by the "gentlemen who live at home at ease," when it became known that the convicts had built boats on the Ile des Pins. The authorities must be very supine; they ought to be displaced, recalled, severely punished, and so forth. Woe to the poor *gardiens* of Ducos if their cause had been decided by these drawing-room legislators. A couple of hours on the peninsula might teach them modesty if not wisdom. Wonders have been done, and the escape of a convict is now made as unlikely as can be. To make it *impossible*, as the writer says—

The nights, during the north-westerly gales, must be less horribly black, or men must be supposed to have eyes able to pierce the darkness; the wind must be forbidden to howl so violently through the trees, the waves to roar as they break on the beach, and so drown the sound of the footsteps of a fugitive . . . arms must be sent with

which aim can be taken in the dark, and marksmen, moreover, who are independent of the light.

The bay of Uatimburu used to be bordered with a thick girdle of trees called *paletuviers*, the sight of which is an abomination to the eye of a colonist, as, wherever they are found—except, curiously enough, in New Caledonia, the terrible marsh fever is sure to desolate the region. Every one of them has now disappeared, the convicts having been allowed, no doubt as a precautionary measure, to cut them down and use them for fuel.

At high tide the piece of land between the free colony and the peninsula is covered by a slimy mud, through which it would be nearly impossible for a fugitive to make his way; but when the tide is low this is not the case, and the enormous number of marsh shrubs would form dangerous hiding-places. It is to guard against this danger that the *canaque*, the “anthropophagus” of the admiral’s saying, has been utilized.

These Canaques are regular men-hunters, whose business it is to seize those who may have escaped the soldiers. They use no civilized weapons, they have neither chassepot nor revolver, pike nor sabre, not even the old-fashioned bludgeon of *lignum vitae*, nor the iron-wood dart. These men are, in reality, savages, that is to say lynx-eyed beings with marvellously quick hearing, and bodies of astonishing agility. They will lie, for days together, crouched in the grass, exercising thousands of artifices unknown to dull European senses. Then, no sooner is the moment come to show themselves, to leap on their prey from ten different points at a time, yelling their war-cry, than the savage is seen in all his brutality. Accustomed as they are to fight with naked men, they do not seize the fugitive by his clothes, but clutch at his very flesh: more like dogs than human beings, they throw down their victim, almost grinding him against the ground, and rolling him in the mud they bind his wrists and heels, then, in the Canaque fashion, in which they formerly used to carry off the victims of their furious cannibalism, they pass a long pole between the prisoner’s heels and wrists, and throw the burden over their shoulders. . . . The convicts have a great dread of this native guard, the *tayos*, as they call them; and not only they, but all evil-doers in the colony. In this land of crime, this ever increasing population of freemen and of *forçats*, an active police is necessary, and none but the Cahaques can do this office in the forests. A single instance will show both what enormities are perpetrated in Caledonia and the need that exists of native *chasseurs*, swift of movement, and experienced in address and cunning.

A short time ago, suspicion was excited of a crime which is not yet proved, but there was sufficient foundation to give rise to inquiries which are still going on. The Canaques asserted that there existed in a mountainous and uninhabited valley far inland a set of escaped and liberated convicts who had revived in the colony the practice of the cannibalism which has been nearly banished among the natives by our expeditions and our missionaries. Several members of a certain tribe having disappeared one after another, the Canaques, as they said, had prosecuted researches, and had come to entertain no doubt as to the fate of their countrymen, believing that they had been devoured by white savages, the off-scouring of the French nation. It would have been in vain to send European troops in the direction pointed out—it was the *tayos* of the police who were set at work. It may be six months, it may be a year, that they will be engaged in the chase, but if the party exists, its members will be captured and brought to Nouméa in the fashion we have described, and the Canaques, proud and happy, will receive the reward allotted to them by the Government whenever they bring back an escaped prisoner.

The natives display great ardour in this kind of chase; and we strongly advise travellers in these parts to beware of shaving their beards, and of wearing a grey blouse and trousers. It is the convict-dress, and the most inoffensive rambler in such a garb would run a risk of seeing a party of Canaques spring upon him from their lair and seize him by the throat.

- The natives are very friendly to France, and in the Ile des Pins they have done good service, and greatly facilitated the safe-keeping of the *déportés simples*. They have a horror of the Communists, whom they call "Paris *tayos*." One can conceive the possibility of these New Caledonians having heard of our capital and its rebels: but it certainly is extraordinary that when they see a soldier, a sailor, a gendarme, or a police-agent, they should know at once that they belong to the other side, and say, pointing to them: "There are the Versailles *tayos*!"

It seems impossible to come to any other conclusion on the question of the much canvassed proposal of the amnesty, than that which is drawn by the writer of the article in the *Correspondant*, that it would be a fatal error. The great misery of France is, and has long been, the revolutionary spirit, and it would be nothing short of a political crime to display the weakness of a false compassion in regard of those men of blood and rapine, whose enormities are of yesterday. What confidence could there be in any government, monarchical or republican, that did not adhere unflinchingly to the determination that these monsters of the Commune should end their days in exile

—an exile which is, as we have seen, a very mild one, but which, because it *is* an exile, will always have the effect of salutary severity on the masses.

As to the convicts themselves, the preceding pages will have shown that their punishment is very far from being proportionate to their offences. In a magnificent climate, in a country full of resources, which the wise benevolence of the Government has placed at their disposal, with a variety of occupations which gives an opportunity of development to every form of industry, and even to a taste for art—above all, with the prospect of liberty and independence which is within the reach of all, and is *certain* to be attained by good conduct, who shall say that the claims of humanity are not more than satisfied in the treatment of these men? Who can deny that to vote for the amnesty would be worse than weakness, a wanton undoing of the effect of the blood shed by the army of Versailles?

Neither is there any truth in the assertion that the presence of the Communist *déportés* is an injury to Caledonia. When once a place is a penal settlement there is no possibility of its ever being an ordinary free colony; it is already the abode of the refuse of humanity, and overseers, guards, and all the rest of the military *régime* is a necessity of its existence.

Objectors in France are fond, it seems, of pointing to Australia and quoting all that has been done there, but it was not done *only* by the labour of the working classes; there were also the men of education and of capital to direct labour, to advance funds, and to find a market for produce. Now there is no such class of emigrants existing in France, and the experiments that have been hitherto made in this line have been complete failures. Again and again colonists have been brought over, lodged and fed almost gratis; tracts of land have been shown to them, which, they are told, may be theirs if they choose. Then their helplessness and lack of energy is apparent. They are completely at a loss what to do; a thousand difficulties rise before them. They are seized with a panic, and return ignominiously to Nouméa, where they go on vegetating, or, too often, according to our author, sink into the lowest degradation.

But these are *French* colonists. What, it has been asked, of Australians, of English? Is it wise to irritate and alienate men of capital, energy, and credit? But the truth is that the men here alluded to make no complaints whatever of the strict

regulations of Caledonia ; the only Englishmen who dislike them are the captains of vessels, who naturally find it inconvenient not to be able to put in for a night, or to be fined whenever their tipsy sailors come too near forbidden ground in their boats. Of course the regulations are strict—the necessity for strictness has been seen, but every care is taken to exercise prudence in carrying out these regulations, and it is only where there has been evident premeditation that the law exerts its full rigour. And it must not be forgotten that it was on an English vessel that Rochefort made his escape ; after that it can hardly be said that all captains are unassailable by the temptation of a bribe. In fact, no nation has a greater horror of the Communists than the English. Not only do they detest their crimes and outrages, but, as this writer well observes, their eminently practical character is antagonistic to *châteaux en Espagne*, and wild theories, the tendency of which is to disturb the well-being of society, and to upset the order and regularity in which an Englishman delights.

On the whole the state of the peninsula Ducos is more than satisfactory—it is really a remarkable success. It is true *le dernier mot n'est pas dit*, but it must be remembered that the principles which drove these men to the enormities of the Commune are seething still in many a heart in Paris, and that, France being what she is, the dangers of a rash step might easily be irremediable. *Chi va piano va sano.*

Doubtless [in the concluding words of the writer] if the chances of an amnesty, even in 1880, could be considered null, far bolder steps might be taken towards the emancipation of the working men, measures might be urged on for the formation of new ties which would make New Caledonia their second country. Sacrifices might be made to establish them on a large scale, and to found a race of Caledonian creoles ; but in the present state of men's minds, with the uncertainty of the future, the culpable indecision, the want of energy, and the divisions of the Conservative party, we must wait, not withholding praise meanwhile from those who have succeeded in placing so difficult a service upon so admirable a footing. They would prepare many more surprises for us in the future, if we should be happy enough to see the internal enemies of the country so utterly overthrown as to justify giving free course to the natural generosity of Frenchmen without the appearance of weakness and without danger to their country.

Josephine's Troubles.

A STORY OF THE OCCUPATION OF VERSAILLES IN 1870.

CHAPTER XX.

OUR Josephine might have been fairly gratified at her success in this transaction, as well as flattered at the influence which she could exert over her foreign guest. But as she thought it over, which she did often enough, there was something in the fashion in which the favour had been conferred that was ungrateful. She felt an impatience at the cold business-like way in which the officer had exerted himself, and at the pains which had been taken to impress upon her that it was a sort of payment in full for the obligations incurred. The affections are as sensitive as one of those delicate instruments which measure the strength of motion of an electric current;—and often at an early stage some faint breath of suspicion, though dismissed as fanciful, is in reality as conclusive as the iron logic of a syllogism. So at a very early stage of that feeling, which Josephine never ventured to style anything beyond interest or sympathy, there had been something in the measured, studied courtesies of the young German officer that seemed to convey to her that there was nothing like reciprocal love in his thoughts. This idea, we say, had passed like a summer evening's breath over that tiny flower, her heart, scarce stirring it; but this recent episode shook those delicate petals like a March east wind.

"Is he not a German?" thought Josephine. "He despises us all, and looks on us as a subject race. For me he has a sort of gratitude; he is a gentleman, and can be courteous and obliging. He finds me better than the rest, and—that is all; while I——"

And here a blush of something like humiliation came to her cheeks. "No wonder the people say these things of me, and that I am a degenerate child of France. But I can still redeem myself, and it will be a useful, though a sore lesson." And though her resolution took this formal shape, there was below it in faint shape one that was really prominent—"she would show him that she could be disdainful too."

Accordingly its first fruits were a certain reserve, which she took up and maintained with dignity for some days. But alas! it needs a Spartan firmness to preserve this dangerous explosive at such a *juste*

milieu—not to say a highly-trained Talleyrand disposition. This sort of bearing may take the shape of a grievance, or of being wounded; but not of the colourless indifference which is intended; and the operation impresses quite a different idea. Josephine accordingly could see that the imperturbable officer fancied that she was offended, and offended without cause. He would not accept the idea of indifference, and was wondering at such coldness after the prodigious exertion he had made. Then she felt humiliated as she thought of what a petty display this was for one who, like herself, was placed amid scenes of stern practical duty. It was unworthy to be indulging in such refinements at such a season. In her eagerness to remove this impression, she became more demonstrative; as a bent stick, when released, will fly back as far in the opposite direction. Such behaviour naturally might have perplexed another, but it had the effect of placing her in quite a new light in the German's eyes; and by a process, the result of which she did not dream of, something akin to what she desired was produced. For these rather capricious fits of heat and cold lent a piquancy and wilfulness to our Josephine, which quite set her off; and even her struggles to resist these little humours gave a charm. Alas! she scarcely thought that this soldier had been quartered in most of the towns of his native country, beginning with Berlin, where he had met scores of young girls, some as interesting as herself, others experienced garrison misses, trained in all the devices of attack and self-defence. Hence in his eyes she must have seemed but one of the ranks, distinguished certainly by superior gifts, and the most interesting qualities, but still one of the class. Was she not also the daughter of a subject race, of the hereditary enemy, for whom the invaders, while they oppressed and scourged them, felt the most unmitigated contempt? Were it not well, then, fair and sensible Josephine, to dismiss all these delightful speculations, and get out of this fool's paradise as quickly as possible?

"I have good news," said Captain Müller, gaily, and showing her a letter. "They are on their way, and will arrive to-night."

"Madam Müller?" said Josephine, trying to speak with indifference.

"And Bertha," he went on. "When I say good news, I mean good news for you; for now attendance will cease. They bring their own servants too. So I shall not be turning the house upside down, as I have been doing. I have noticed that it was beginning to tire you; and indeed it was most unreasonable."

This was a little hard. "I never thought such a thing, or wished to convey it," said she.

"I know you did not; it was a thoughtless and ungrateful speech of mine. I meant that you ought to have been tired of us and our exactions. Indeed, when the war is over, which it soon will be, I fear I may never look again for such kindness. But now what I wish to tell you is this, I have settled that you are to be once more mistress of your own house."

Josephine cried out suddenly. "What! leaving us in that way! Oh, you won't do that!"

She said this with such a pleading reproach and warmth that he was taken by surprise. "What, you wish me to stay then?"

She was confused. "I meant—to go away so abruptly—without notice——"

"But I don't intend anything of the kind. I only think of all the trouble I have been putting you to being at an end. They will look after me now; are bringing their own servants. So that the honest woman below will regain her liberties. You will say, why not move myself off altogether to their house? but that would not do."

"Why?" asked Josephine, wondering.

"I must stay for your sake," he said with a smile. "I could not bring myself to leave you."

The colour was coming to Josephine's face. What was he going to say? Could it be that——

"You see," he continued, in the same light tone, "if I departed, some rough German—at least, rougher than I am—would take my place, and begin ordering you all about, and make you all wretched! So for that reason I am determined to quarter myself on you still."

Here came a chill soreness at Josephine's heart. She could not but think that this highly practical regard for her interest was a little cruel. However, it might be her own fault after all.

"And," he went on, "I have a little secret to tell you; and I know I may, as you are discretion itself. *Peace is very close at hand*, and you will see us with our faces turned towards the Fatherland. A glad day for you all. Now this will affect your *protégé*, Mr. Jacquet, more nearly than you think. A little bird has told me that his departure will not take place *quite* at once; or if he have to start at once, he will hardly reach the frontier. I will do my best—a man can do no more!"

"You have done a great deal," said she, in a trembling voice; she felt inexpressibly hurt and mortified. "But you will remember that it was only at his mother's entreaties that I interfered."

"I know that, of course," he said. "I see you don't think me worthy of your confidence. Still, I would not *bouder* the youth too much. He is a foolish lad, but has a good spirit, and this will do him a world of good. Now, now. Don't tell me, Miss Josephine. After you have got rid of us, you will make it all up."

Josephine could not restrain herself an instant longer. "Why do you persist in saying such things to me?" she said, with a sudden burst of vehemence. "I think it unkind raillery. It is cruel; and I do not deserve it. Of course you are conquerors here, and can treat us as you please, or say anything that suits you."

"Why, Miss Josephine, what have I done?" he asked, in genuine astonishment.

"Surely you know that it cannot please me to be associated with him, and yet you delight in repeating it. Pray never allude to it again. It hurts me, wounds me more than I can tell you."

"I certainly shall not, since you wish it. I really thought that the subject was acceptable, which was really the reason that I mentioned it. You will believe me when I say so? But why—excuse my curiosity—why is it that the matter has become so disagreeable? You know what all the gossips here have been saying—so it was not so very wrong of me, after all."

Josephine, a little ashamed of her outburst, had now recovered herself.

"Forgive me," she said, "I am always foolish, I know: and so matter of fact, that I have not learned to take jests as I ought. Pray do not mind me, and forget what I said—"

"I see you will not tell me," he answered, smiling. "It must remain a mystery, I suppose, not to be communicated to the hostile German. Indeed, it is most natural that you should do no more than tolerate me. I have brought you nothing but trouble, annoyance, and mortification."

The trouble and annoyance she might have repudiated, but her mortification at that moment was indescribable. He seemed so thoroughly genuine in his perplexity as to the cause of the little outburst, that something like scorn was in her soul. She could not help saying as she quitted him—

"You know we French think that your ideas move rather more slowly than ours. One of my countrymen might have been ready with a guess—and a good one. But no matter. Adieu."

Left to himself, the German captain smiled.

"The most artful coquette could not do it better! And yet she is nothing of the kind." Then he began to muse a little, and said aloud: "Well, I am glad that peace is not far off. It were better for me to be at home again."

CHAPTER XXI.

THAT night about eight o'clock the servant came running to Josephine to tell her that the two strange ladies had arrived and were with the German officer. "O miss," she cried, "she is a very grim and stately woman, and spoke so sternly. 'Show the way to my son's room!' she said."

"And his sister?" asked Josephine.

"A fair, insipid blonde, like the German music-master's daughter that was here before the war."

Josephine waited in her room for more than an hour, when she heard a tap at her door. "Madam Mother," as the maid called her, wished to speak to her. She was exactly like a tall grenadier, in black

silk, with iron-grey "pipes" or curls arranged in rows on each side of her long face. Her voice was a little hoarse, and she spoke with all the commanding tone of the German soldiers, as if the place belonged to her.

"Miss Lezack," she said, bowing stiffly, "of course you know who I am. I am glad to learn from my son that he has nothing to complain of here—in fact, that he has been taken all care of. I am much obliged to you."

This acknowledgment was made as though it was formal payment for all services rendered, and for the future the matter need not be referred to. "I am happy now to be able to relieve you of further trouble. I shall look after my son myself—altogether, you understand."

Josephine felt awed by this grim personage, but she answered with some dignity—

"We have all tried, madam, to do our duty to the sick."

"I have no doubt of that," said the lady, carelessly, and beginning to take off her shawl in a business-like way. "Now I want you to make me out some little room where I can put my things, and which I can have to myself."

"Let me help you," said Josephine, instinctively, going up to her. She felt that here was the patient's mother, though she afterwards felt "mad with herself" for yielding to such an impulse. The lady gravely accepted the service.

"What's your Christian name?" she asked, abruptly.

What was the thought in Josephine's mind before she answered?—that he had never thought it worth while to mention her name. It was mortifying. She told the lady.

"Oh, yes. I remember now."

Ah! then he *had* mentioned her.

"Well, Josephine, now see about the room at once. And, by the way, I had quite forgotten, Miss Müller wants you for something; but show me my room first."

The colour rushed to her cheeks, and she drew herself up proudly. "You may not intend it, madam," she said, "but you speak to me as if I were a servant."

"Oh, nonsense!" said the lady. "I thought our soldiers had taught you something by this time. Don't you know that everything in the place belongs to us? It were best to have done with all this folly at once."

"I cannot have you speak to me in this way," Josephine answered, firmly. "I must remind you that you are in my house, and have no authority over me. If I were to tell your son how you are insulting me——"

The lady looked at her with astonishment, and then smiled.

"Well, I can't be angry with you for speaking to me so plainly. I did not mean to hurt your feelings, and I dare say we shall be very

good friends, after all. But don't you see, my good child, that your wicked nation has brought all this on themselves? Heaven has sent us to scourge you for the vices which are scandalizing the world. Ah, Bertha! Here's Miss Josephine Lezack has been lecturing me because I don't speak to her with proper respect."

The young lady that entered was exactly of the type described by the maid—a fair, tranquil-looking *blonde*, with an expression of cold sweetness. She smiled on Josephine, but in an indifferent way.

"Come, my dear," said the old lady, now in good-humour, "we must be up and doing. How about dinner? How about the room? Send us up the maid, Miss Lezack. Does my poor boy, Müller, want anything?"

"He was asking for his letter-case."

"I know where it is," said Josephine, with an eagerness she did not intend to show, and moving towards the door.

"If you will be good enough to tell *me*," said the young lady, with a cool tranquillity, "it will be quite sufficient."

Thus rebuffed, Josephine was to learn that they were "on guard," as it were, and that the relations were now interposed between her and her patient. Perhaps she might never see him at all.

The young lady went to fetch the letter-case. Madam Müller then bustled about, getting things "in order," as she considered it, and talking all the while.

"So you have lost your father. I am sorry to hear it. Nothing can replace a father or—a mother. How many fathers have been killed during this dreadful war that your wicked countrymen began! They will answer for it in this world and in the next. Even your priests will tell you that."

"They always tell us what is right and good. Only for what they told us, we should never have been able to endure the insults and mortifications we have suffered since your armies have been here."

"No doubt," said the lady, still lecturing. "And then your Emperor—that monster—and one I think worse than he is, that Eugenie—with all her painted ladies and the rioting at Compiègne—"

"Oh, I don't know how to talk to you, madam, about these things," said Josephine, impatiently. "I fear your daughter has not found the case."

"My daughter!" said the lady, in wonder. "Who do you mean—Miss Müller?"

"I thought—" faltered Josephine.

"A good joke," said the lady. "Why that's my niece, Bertha Müller—not my daughter as yet, certainly. What! you were so sagacious as to find that out?"

Josephine could only falter, "I have found out nothing, madam. I don't understand." But she did—almost.

"Come here to the light," said the lady, roughly. "What are you colouring in that way for, you foolish, ridiculous girl! I couldn't believe

it—but now I see it's true. Ah! your nursing hasn't been so disinterested as you would make out, Miss Josephine."

Poor Josephine! Certainly her cup of humiliation was filling fast. She tried to collect such dignity as was left to her—to make some speech that would rebuke, put down, the coarse lady that assailed her; but the retort or repartee would not come—she could do nothing. And after faltering both in step and voice, she caught at the woman's unfailing plank, and burst into tears.

"Oh! I have seen plenty of that in my time," said the lady.

CHAPTER XXII.

CAPTAIN MULLER, leaning on a stick, was standing in the doorway.

"Why, what's this! O mother, that dreadfully plain-spoken tongue of yours!" He looked from one to the other.

Madam Müller said, impatiently, "Oh, the girl is excitable, like all the French. Do go back to your room."

"The girl!" he repeated. "My dear mother, now I see how it is. Miss Lezack is my friend. After you there is no one to whom I owe so much. Her kindness, her tenderness and care, I shall never forget. The girl, indeed! I see from that you have not been treating her as she deserves."

"Pray say no more," said Josephine. "It was not that, indeed. I am not so foolish as to take offence at anything of the kind."

"Bertha, let me introduce you to my best friend—"

"Oh, I have seen the *young lady*," replied the *blonde*, carelessly. "She cannot complain of me, I hope."

"Pray don't," said Josephine, whose native simplicity removed the tension from an awkward situation more effectively than any elaborate explanation. "These ladies, I am sure, mean me nothing but goodwill—at least," she added hastily, "so far as it can exist between enemies."

The mother, disarmed, put out her hand. "Come," she said, "we shall be very good friends, I dare say. I am a blunt woman."

"Indeed you are, mother," said he. "And Bertha, what do you say to Miss Lezack?"

The young lady's lip curled a little. "Oh, of course," she said, "we must be excellent friends, too, as you wish it."

Thus vindicated, Josephine got away from the room, leaving the reunited family together. But to be a cousin, *not* a daughter—to come such a long journey and take her place! What did it mean? It was natural in a sister, as she had taken her to be; but for a cousin to come such a journey to wait on a sick officer, this was not to be satisfactorily explained. Altogether, here was a fresh trouble, with fresh weary speculations for our Josephine, and no likelihood of her finding relief, as the family were not inclined to favour her with an account of their plans. That night she lay down with a very heavy heart. She

felt that her little romance was now at an end, and brought to an end very abruptly.

Whether the new arrival contributed to the effect, there could be no doubt that Captain Müller was mending rapidly. In a day or two he was going out, leaning on his stick, and able to go into the house where his relations lived. But instead of Josephine coming to see him, he used now to pay her a visit, so that her anticipations were not disappointed.

On one of these mornings the following conversation took place.

"You have forgotten all that, I hope," he said. "My mother is a little abrupt in her ways; but she is a good woman, and means well. But tell me, how do you like my fair relation?"

"She seems very charming," said Josephine; "that is—I can know so little of her."

"Naturally. I was going to say, when you come to know her better, you would like her—only I see but little chance of this. I frankly confess it."

"She is your cousin?" Josephine could not resist asking.

"Yes."

"And you have known her all your life?"

"Well, no—not many years. She is an only child, has a large fortune, and her father is brother-in-law to the War Minister. Good looks, money, interest—there are very few girls that combine three such virtues."

"Virtues!" repeated Josephine.

"Well, the world's virtues. A soldier, with little beyond his sword, could not afford to overlook such a chance, and if he had any sentiment, had better put it in his pocket. What do you think?"

She had found herself so fretted and tortured by this strain, in which he had been indulging of late, that she shrank from the idea of its being recommenced.

"What can I say? Pray do not ask me about these things."

"But I have a reason for asking you," he went on; "in fact, I want you to let me confide in you."

"No, no," said Josephine, "I had rather you would not."

At this critical juncture some one knocked at the door, and Josephine, running eagerly to open it, found the two ladies waiting in the hall. There were dark looks and biting of lips as the captain came out. He was perfectly cool and gay as usual.

"You now see what intimate friends we are, you, mother, that were severe as a schoolmistress."

"You seem on very familiar terms, indeed," said the young lady, turning away suddenly and going back into the street.

"Go after her," said the mother, severely, "you owe her every amends for this treatment."

"Pretty Bertha!" he said, "she is a little put out at something. Adieu, Miss Josephine."

As soon as he was gone, "I begin to think the worst of you," began the lady, measuring her with an almost ferocious eye. "It would be well for you not to provoke me too far."

Josephine felt a secret elation at the thought that she, the poor despised French girl, was getting the better of these insolent German dames, and could but answer with pride—

"I do not mind such threats, madam."

"Yes; because you feel secure that my son will protect you. A most respectable ground of confidence. I hear you have got him to do a good deal for you already—to save your various lovers—get you good bargains for your wines—"

Josephine rather scared the elderly German by the tone of anger and pride with which she replied—

"You must leave my room and my house, unless you can speak to me with the respect I am entitled to."

"Respect! that is rather good—"

"No discussion, please," said Josephine, stung to fury by what had been said to her. "After this, I will hold no communication with you."

The lady felt herself shrink away before Josephine's haughty command. Rather good this, she thought, from these subject French, "whom *we* conquered—*our* slaves," and the rest.

Present effects of the Bismarckian Persecution.

THE condition of those Catholics who are directly subject to the German emperor is such as to justify serious anxiety. The penalties attached to the recent Falck legislation may be seen in full operation in the dioceses of Cologne, Münster, Gnesen and Posen, Ermeland, Breslau, Trèves, Culm, Hildesheim, Fulda, Limburg, Osnabruck, and Paderborn. The larger number of these sees are without resident bishops. All the prelates who fill them have been subject to fines, many imprisoned, more than one deposed, as far as the government can depose or deprive them, and driven into exile and obscurity. Where a neighbouring and friendly power is not strong enough to resist coercion, as *e.g.* Holland, it has received significant threats of the consequence of giving any more liberty to a banished bishop than that of residence in absolute obscurity within its frontiers. Merchants may direct the operations of their correspondents, command home and foreign markets, and raise or lower foreign exchanges; foreign newspaper correspondents may comment on political measures, and give premature publicity to state secrets; but an exiled German bishop is not to be allowed to write directions as to the disposal of funds intrusted to him, nor to tender fatherly advice to any one of those who must remain subject to him still, notwithstanding the edicts of a thousand ministers of worship or police. Within the last few days the venerable bishop of Trèves, after undergoing arrest and imprisonment, not without circumstances of brutal indignity, has breathed his last, broken and worn out by unmerited moral torture. The diocese of Fulda is vacant and cannot be filled while the legal tests of the German government are maintained. The Archbishop of Cologne, the Cardinal-bishop of Posen, the bishops of Münster and Paderborn are exiled from their sees; and the bishop of Breslau from that part of it which is within Prussian territory.

The pages of our last issue have given a touching history of the treatment of a priest dragged from his parish,

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arrested and driven to take refuge in a foreign land, without resources and without friends ; rich only in the sympathy of the great brotherhood of Catholics, to which he has an indefeasible right as a priest and a confessor of the faith. The same cruelties have been inflicted on bishops and priests in many dioceses. They are compelled to become, by the direct action of the government, breakers of the new laws in the most necessary and obvious exercise of their ecclesiastical duties. Such victims are selected from time to time, perhaps from the capricious animosity or zeal of local public prosecutors, governors, and prefects of police ; perhaps on a definite plan in pursuance of instructions from head-quarters. Meanwhile other measures are put in force which affect the clergy and the Catholic population of all the dioceses which are under the separate dominion of Prussia.

A short tour during the month of May through several of the distressed dioceses has brought these circumstances under our observation with startling reality. The measures in question are acts of the *culture war*, if that can be called warfare in which a supreme power attacks a class of men who have no visible means of defence, whose weapons are fortitude and patience, and who leave their justification to a higher tribunal.

The diocese which has suffered the most is that of Trèves, in which there are more than a thousand priests. It is the diocese that is the worst endowed of any subject to Prussia. When the terms of a Concordat, after the break up of the old order of things, placed the endowments of the Catholic Church in the dioceses of Prussian Germany in the hands of the government, annual payments were guaranteed to bishops, chapters and clergy, bearing a due proportion to the lands, tithes, and other property surrendered. Trèves, which had been an independent principality and electorate, was ruined by the French revolution which confiscated and swept away all the old revenues of the diocese. When it fell under the dominion of Prussia there were no endowments left on which the basis of a compensation could be laid. The diocese was ruined and the small payments assigned by the state are but just sufficient to keep alive a poor and hardworked clergy ; and the clergy can be reduced to absolute want at any moment by the withdrawal of these moderate allowances.

The bishop (he is now no more) had been deprived of his entire revenue, and an arrear of fines unpaid was held over his

head sufficient in amount to sweep away the contributions that might in the future be raised by his spiritual children, or by sympathizing friends, with the view of setting him once more free of obligations. He was living (May 24) in three or four small rooms, scantily furnished, on one floor of the episcopal house behind the restored church of our Lady. A few portraits of predecessors in the see had been bought up along with his furniture, every stick of which was seized by the police in restraint for fines. The pictures, furniture, and the bishop's clothing belong to his friends, and their right of property is retained in order that these things may not be taken and sold over again. He was suffering from an attack of debility after the long and harassing indignities to which he had been subjected, and died six days later possessing nothing.

Like the bishop, all his canons were living on alms. A large number of the clergy of the diocese are absolutely deprived by the government, and the incomes that are left untouched are of such extreme narrowness that there is little, if any, margin left for sharing with more ill-used brother-priests. In many cases, deprivation of income is supplemented by the loss of the modest house and small garden usually attached, which enabled the priest to live. Not only is the poverty of the clergy extreme, but there is no wealthy class of Catholics to support them. The parishes are often large, with scattered populations, and the clergy are in sore need of funds from outside.

A railway runs from Trèves to Cologne, up the country of the Eiffel, cutting across the windings of a narrow valley bounded by rocks and hills, generally covered with thick wood. The line crosses from time to time a river clear as crystal, never wide, and shrinking gradually to the dimensions of a brook, bordered by fertile meadows, fragrant in this late spring with cowslips and other flowers; a quiet and beautiful country till the line reaches the low-lying lands south of Cologne.

That ancient Roman city has in modern times recovered an importance among the capitals of Europe, as great, perhaps, as that which it possessed in the middle ages; not as the seat of an elector of the empire, nor as a great home and centre of art, nor as a commercial metropolis and river port; but as the centre of a vast system of railway communication between England and France on one side, and Holland, Germany, Russia, and the northern kingdoms on the other. It has a dense and prosperous

population, and something of its former ecclesiastical dignity survives. The old churches of the city are still its chief ornament, from S. Maria of the capitol down to its unrivalled cathedral, half old and half new, illustrating amongst them all the great historic periods of mediæval architecture. To Cologne, moreover, belongs the glory of having been the first to renew the fervent Catholic zeal of Germany.

How has Cologne fared in the present religious warfare? The night is closing in as we find our way into the Cathedral. Beset as the huge aisles now are by sightseers and loungers of every and of no creed; families of tourists, red books in hand; touters for shillings and sixpences; money changers, lackeys and scoundrels of many complexions; no Catholic could have entered the vast nave at nightfall, at sunrise, or during High Mass, without seeing at once that it was well tenanted by fervent worshippers.

The month of Mary was well kept. Under the lantern in the nave a large altar, dedicated to the Immaculate Mother, whose image surmounted it, embowered in a vast bank of flowers, seemed to have at all hours a congregation of devout men and women before it, such as would crowd a church of less gigantic proportions. This continued, whether Benediction was going on or not, and as long as the doors remained open at night, undisturbed by a continually moving fringe of the curious and idle. It is dark, but a beadle of enormous stature (suited to the building) is always present, near a lamp; from him the address of canon — can be obtained, to whom we had an introduction. The archbishop is driven from Cologne. It would be imprudent to ask his address, or whether he is in Germany, or across the frontier: but in the morning the canon would take us to the coadjutor bishop and from him we were to learn what the wants of the clergy are and whether any contributions can be made towards the relief of their present necessities. Were the archbishop in his place and at liberty, he would be the channel through whom communications could be sent to the other bishops and dioceses of Germany.

Speaking generally, all the priests of the diocese of Cologne have suffered, some more, some less, by the withdrawal of Government salaries. Between £8,000 and £9,000 are absolutely withheld from this diocese. The canons have suffered the first and, after the archbishop, the most severely. "I have had," said the canon to whom we were addressed, "all my own

furniture seized and sold—everything I had." He spoke also in the name of many sufferers. The priest whom the mayor, public prosecutor, or police magistrate of a town or village has not yet thought fit to test and prosecute, pinches himself that he may share what remains to him with those who are in want. The faithful, moreover, come forward generously; Easter offerings and other contributions are freely given, and for the present, though many priests are living simply on alms, they speak as if they suffered nothing. "For the present," said the coadjutor bishop, in the name of the diocese, "we shall decline contributions from abroad. Later we may be pressed more severely."

The city of Limburg stands on a bend of the romantic river Lahn. The cathedral, a beautiful example of twelfth century architecture, surmounted by a lofty spire, crowns a steep acropolis; and the other churches, houses, and streets nestle round the slopes below. The station may be reached in a few hours from Cologne.

The bishop of Limburg has been fined, his property distrained and seized, and his salary is withdrawn. The rooms that he inhabits are attached to a church in the town itself, now used as the metropolitan church,¹ the cathedral being under repair. Judging by their modesty in size and furniture, we should have taken these rooms for the lodgings of one of his lordship's chaplains. A few portraits of past bishops—one of himself, a present from the faithful of the diocese—are all that ornament this humble dwelling. These pictures, the chairs we sat on, everything, to the bed the bishop sleeps on, and his clothing and episcopal ornaments, have been taken in distrain for fines and bought back by the faithful for his use. During some considerable time, the sum of £250 (5,000 marks) has been demanded from him monthly, the total reaching the amount of £1,250 (25,000 marks). His personal property produced something over £75. "I have nothing," he said, "of my own." The canons have lost everything, like the bishop. Altogether, about £5,000 a-year has been withdrawn from the diocese. Priests in other towns, or in parishes in which the crown prosecutor has not yet begun to operate, if they have preserved their incomes, share them in the way already mentioned. The

¹ Here are the great relic of the True Cross in a well-known reliquary covered with Byzantine enamel of the ninth century, and the staff of St. Peter, both formerly in the treasury of the cathedral of Trèves, transferred hither by the Duke of Nassau.

diocese is situated in great part in the duchy of Nassau. All parish priests are not so absolutely dependent, as in Prussia proper, on the salaries paid (or withheld) by the minister of public worship in Berlin. The faithful are generous and regular in taxing themselves for the pastors they love and respect so much. One contributor has managed to give hitherto £120 a-year, a large sum, for fortunes are small and incomes moderate in these provinces.

It is half a day's journey by way of Wetzlar to Fulda. This is a clean, healthy-looking city, not too abundant in water, if one may judge by the number of women waiting to fill the long water casks slung over their backs, at the fountain in front of the residence, a huge building occupying three sides of a square. A beautiful garden, open to the public, stretches on one flank of this palace, and ample old-fashioned stable accommodation, now given up to artillery and guns, bounds it on the other.

Formerly the bishopric was a principality and attached to the Benedictine Order; the chapter was composed of canons regular, and the bishop was a member of the order. The cathedral, separated from the princely palace by an open square, bordered by an avenue of trees, was reconstructed in the middle of the last century. The exterior is stately, but in the *baroque* style of the Louis Quinze period; the inside is adorned with sprawling ornament of ghastly white, not without a certain grandeur in the laying out of the principal parts. The crypt contains the relics of St. Boniface the apostle of Germany.

The see of Fulda is now vacant. It cannot be filled up while the present war continues. About £5,000 (100,000 marks) a year are now withheld from the canons and clergy of the diocese. The bishop's house, and a large building surrounding a quadrangular garden, formerly the property of the canons, are untenanted, except by one or two officials, the vicar-general, and the president of the gymnasium. The canons have lost their capitular salaries, and are dependent on offerings made to them in the shape of alms, or on what they may get as teachers. They have suffered more than any priests of the diocese: for instance, one was mentioned to us as selling his books and personal belongings to postpone as long as possible the necessity of becoming a burden to the diocese. He is the first in dignity. Another has reduced his personal

wants to the use of meat at one meal only during the week. When an offer of alms was made to the canons, as they have been the first and the greatest sufferers, this offer was declined in favour of the general body of their brother-priests. "We cannot accept relief for ourselves first, we must share and share alike with other sufferers in the diocese." This was the answer given us. One hundred and forty priests have been deprived of all, or of half, or of large proportions of their salaries. About thirty are left absolutely destitute. Parts of the diocese are inhabited by large majorities of Protestants; other parts are rural districts with scattered populations, and the Catholic congregations belong, for the most part, to the pooter classes.

We looked out from the windows of the corridors that run round the monastic buildings. Fertile gardens, large, roomy dependencies and outbuildings reached down to the outskirts of the old-fashioned city, and the green, well-cultivated meadows that border the river Fulda below. These used to be the property of the chapter. The massive, showy architecture, the liberality, care, and propriety with which the buildings and grounds have been laid out: the well-ventilated passages within: the blackened portraits of saintly bishops, abbots, and priors of the order, call to mind the old monastic buildings of the Benedictines at Subiaco, the dignified repose of Einsiedeln and other colleges and seats of learning, that flourished so long under this ancient family of saints and scholars.

The railway runs nearly due north from Fulda to Paderborn. On the way to Cassel, the traveller gets a glance at Williams-hohe, a royal paradise, embowered in woods in which are laid out costly gardens, summer-houses, cascades, and fountains. This has now become one out of many accessions of private property lapsed to, or appropriated by, the German Emperor. It was last tenanted (we believe) by the Emperor Napoleon, after the surrender of Sedan, in 1871. The eighteen years of wealth, splendour, military glory, and power which elapsed between the proclamation of the late French empire and this imprisonment, make up the longest reign of any monarch of France since the great revolution. On such a journey as we are now taking, it is impossible to forget the restoration of Pius the Ninth to Rome which formed the prelude to this long tenure of undisputed power, nor the final withdrawal of

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the French troops from the Holy City with which the end was ushered in. Empires have no indefeasible title to continue upon the earth, and Providence, though its ways are unknown, and its action is not discernible to every eye, wakes and overrules the designs and calculations of men. Alas, poor Emperor!

The city of Paderborn contains many ancient churches. The cathedral, one of the earliest in Germany, is built over the springs of the Pader, which issue by scores of tiny rivulets, *vitro splendidiores*, from under the foundation stones of the church, and unite immediately in a full and rapid river, flowing round the gardens of the lower town.

The bishop has been fined, imprisoned, interned in the fortress of Wesel, and is now forced into exile. Everything has been taken from the canons of the cathedral chapter. Wandering through the ruins of a poor quarter of the city destroyed not long since by fire, we passed a beautiful house built in the old style, surrounded by a garden, and which is laid out close under the ancient walls of the place. This was the Seminary, built and endowed with great labour and many sacrifices, and with funds collected with difficulty by the bishop; in order that his clergy might be trained under his immediate superintendence. "If that institution is taken from the see," he once said, "it will break my heart." The Seminary has been cleared out, and the buildings and garden are appropriated by the government.

The diocese of Paderborn is divided for ecclesiastical purposes into four circles, those of Eisfeld, Saxony, Paderborn, and Sauerland. The Catholic populations are very inferior in numbers to the Protestant in some of these circles, Saxony for instance, so that the support of priests deprived of their salaries in these districts is provided with great difficulty. The incomes at best averaged about £60 for parish priests, and about £45 for those of lower rank.

As in the dioceses already mentioned, the canons of the cathedral are the most destitute—unless in the case of such as may have a parish church, or of the rector of the gymnasium, who is also a canon. One canon is totally blind, but the government has made no exception in his favour. Altogether, between £4,000 and £5,000 per annum have been withdrawn from Paderborn. The faithful are for the most part staunch supporters of the clergy, and are generous in their offerings at Easter, and will be, it is hoped, again after the harvest.

There are not wanting, however, in Paderborn itself, liberal lay Catholics who take the side of government, with the present favour and prospective advantages which such a course holds out.

Hildesheim was formerly a free city; the bishops had jurisdiction over the cathedral close, a sort of isolated square surrounding the cathedral, which is by no means the largest or most striking of the churches of the city. Round this square are built the gymnasium, a college of higher studies, containing large quadrangles with gardens in the middle, airy corridors, many rooms of professors and halls of study. It was formerly under the charge of the Society of Jesus. Old portraits of the saints of the Society are hung round the corridors, and small framed engravings illustrative of their lives. A Roman student would be reminded of the buildings of the Society in Rome, as he passes the doors of the rector and of other officials who lodge in these old-fashioned rooms. The bishop occupies part of his house in one corner of the close. The close, with its rampart of residences, gardens, and garden walls, seems to be a sort of city within a city, and is entered at three of its corners by tortuous lanes, one ending in a long, dark, vaulted passage.

A canon to whom we get introduced brings us to the bishop, whose circumstances differ in no essential points from those of his brothers already named. His personal liberty is left to him, that is all. His furniture belongs to his flock, so do his clothes and ecclesiastical ornaments. A proprietor on the Rhine sends him a few bottles of his wine, some send him money, others various little presents. All he seems to have at his disposition are some relics of SS. Bernward and Godehard, patrons of the see, learned and accomplished artists in their age, of whose skill in architecture and metal-work the churches of Hildesheim contain many memorials.

In the entire diocese there are, we understood, thirty-three priests only left in the enjoyment of the full salaries paid by government. Half of the entire number have lost all; the rest are beggared in various degrees, according as they have hitherto had resources from Easter offerings and fees to make up a living, or have depended entirely on their salaries.

Osnabrück is a smaller diocese. Formerly, and while the kingdom of Hanover belonged to the English crown, the see was filled by a Catholic bishop and a lay impropriator alter-

nately—the Duke of York (we believe) was the last Protestant “Bishop of Osnabrück.” For the last fifty years the see has been regularly filled by a Catholic prelate. The bishop being absent we were received by the vicar-general. There are about three hundred priests in this diocese. The bishop and canons are without their incomes, and many priests are severely pressed. Though the number of sufferers is not so large as in the dioceses of Trèves and others, yet so great a proportion of the Hanoverian population is Protestant, and that the most prosperous and rich, that neither sympathy nor adequate support can be found for these deserving pastors in their own diocese.

We must put before the reader the present circumstances of one other diocese, that of Münster. A year ago, on the 27th of April, Mgr. Brinckmann, bishop of Münster, was released from imprisonment at Warendorf. He was brought home in the state carriage of the count Erb Droste, which came into the city covered with flowers, with Westphalian noblemen as coachman, outriders, and attendants. Placards were posted up by the police, forbidding anything in the nature of a demonstration; hoisting flags and streamers was punished by fines. At an earlier period, when the bishop's furniture was seized in distress for fines, the students of the gymnasium dispersed the police and carried the furniture bodily back into his house. The police and officials are recruited from distant and Protestant provinces; but Münster is a Catholic city, and the population, lords and citizens, are faithful to their bishop, to his sacred office, and to the cause for which he is a confessor. On a memorable occasion, at Bellerbeck, three years ago, at the pilgrimage of St. Ludger the founder and patron of the see and of the city, the bishop addressed a large body of the men of Münster, packed so closely together to hear what fell from him that the foremost pilgrims could not turn their heads round. He forewarned his hearers of the evil times that were at hand, and said that he would rather suffer imprisonment and any extremity, to the forfeiting of his life, than be wanting to the cause in the strife that was surely coming on. Noble words, redeemed with fortitude and patience since that day.

He has now been formally “deposed” by the law courts and driven from his diocese. Within the last few weeks a government administrator, Herr Gedike, has been sent to take possession of his house and such local property (independent of the

official income retained by the government), as belongs to the see, which is declared to be vacant.

This officer devoted the days immediately preceding the feast of the Ascension to searching the houses of the canons of the cathedral. After turning over their papers, books, clothes, with the assistance of the public prosecutor, a locksmith, and police officers, he proceeded to the cellars (empty of what makes the cheering furniture of the cellar). All corners were carefully ferreted out, the walls broken through wherever they sounded hollow, or unbacked by solid earth, but with no result. Next came the house of the vicar-general. We are on our way to visit this gentleman, but are met by his sister at the garden gate, telling us that the administrator is hunting through it from cellar to roof. Amongst the property then carried off are securities for about £30,000 (200,000 thalers), the funds collected and bequeathed by the munificence and self-denial of former prince-bishops of the see for the endowment of an extensive system of missions in Denmark, and in Protestant provinces in the north of Germany. On Ascension day the country house of a layman known to be a zealous supporter of the exiled bishop and distressed clergy in the diocese, was broken into by Herr Gedike, accompanied by the public prosecutor and a locksmith. The time chosen was that during which the owner of the house would be at his devotions in the cathedral of Münster. No "papers" were found in it. Whether any of the family spoons were missing we have not been informed. No legal process, warning, or inquisition had been addressed to this poor gentleman.

The canons and clergy of this large diocese (containing more than thirteen hundred priests) have declined a contribution of 12,000 francs, sent from Belgium for their immediate wants, in favour of neighbouring dioceses more hardly pressed. They have thrown themselves on the charity of their own staunch, true-hearted Westphalians, and the gift was sent on to Hildesheim. The latter returned the money, begging that it might be given to one of the other dioceses perhaps still more straitened than themselves. Yet in this race of generosity the wants of the clergy in either diocese are real, and becoming daily more so. The small savings laid by in past years as a provision for old age are melting away under the present pressure. All this time the bishop of Münster, forced from his see and his country, lives disguised and under the care of one faithful servant in

Holland. The German government has not hesitated to threaten that power in case any sort of liberty of correspondence should be allowed him with the people he has loved and served so well.

His house in the Domplatz of Münster, so often visited, searched, emptied of furniture in distractants for sums due for fines, has been finally swept out by the administrator. The old servant left in charge was put out by the collar, with his own few articles of furniture thrust in a heap into the cathedral yard, and the gates of the court-yard were chained and padlocked. A house was provided by the charitable layman to whom we have made allusion, and this old dependant and one or two others, cast adrift by the same proceedings, are safely sheltered for the present. Organists, singers, and other dependants of the cathedral have been deprived of the small pittances they formerly received from the government both in this diocese and (we believe) in all the others we visited.

Münster was formerly an independent state of which the bishop was the prince. Votive chapels round the apse of the cathedral are screened with massive bronze railings, trophies of the wars of past ages in which the bishops played their part as defenders of the rights and privileges of their native land. The palace in which they lived, the shady garden that stretches behind it, are memorials of the state they kept. The palace is now divided between the governor of the province and the commandant of the garrison, not always an over happy family. But the bishops at various periods have left behind them nobler monuments of their reigns. Münster abounds in stately colleges and ecclesiastical institutions, well housed and generously endowed. Amongst these are the Borromeo college, with large buildings and a garden, for the education of between seventy and eighty clerical students: and the lesser seminary a large institution for boys. Both these are about to be closed by the government, and their revenues will be sequestered. The great missionary institution has been already alluded to. It was in Münster that Count Furstenberg, minister of state, founded a Catholic university in the last century—a noble institution doubly valuable in the days of coldness and decay in which it was established. The seat of the university has been removed to Bonn; but the gymnasium, a large Catholic educational establishment for higher studies, still holds, we believe, nearly a thousand students. The *real schule*, under the authority of the municipality, is a large school for younger boys. All the youth

of the place of both sexes have their schools of higher or of lower rank. An excellent establishment is maintained for training governesses. Hitherto these various institutions have been under a thorough Catholic training: many of the masters are priests. Till within the last three years (till the passing of the May laws) these colleges and schools began the day with a mass in the cathedral provided for their express service. The organ was played and the children sang hymns during the celebration. The boys went at seven, the girls at eight. From other large churches, that of the Virgin, e.g. in the Überwasser, long ranks of poor children might be seen streaming forth like rows of ants to their various schools, after their masses, at the same hours.

This open and systematic training of the youth of Münster under the daily shadow and sanction of religion, has told wonderfully on the citizens of this once happy city. The annual local processions and the feast of the Holy Father were and still are kept with a zeal, earnestness, and unanimity rare in our times. They are not processions of women and children only, but of men also in all positions in life. When the bishop was attacked and indignities inflicted on the pastors they have learned all their lives to revere, it roused a deep and lasting indignation among the population. It required the turning out of the military to force the people from the bishop's side and to drag his property out of his house. When he was brought back from prison it was such a public rejoicing as we expect at a coronation, or on such other occasions as call for the expression of those national sentiments that overrule every-day thoughts and employments.

The Münster men are not wanting in the present extremity. At Easter, for instance, the cathedral was filled to overflowing by a dense mass of the inhabitants. Those who could but rarely be present there on Sundays came expressly. During the offertory the gates of the choir railing were thrown open. All the congregation, the men first, then women and children, pressed steadily in, in a stream of long continuance. Every one placed his offering on the altar with his own hand, then the ranks passed behind it and made their way round and out by the other gate.

It has been the common and every-day practice for people whose time is at their own disposal, as well as great numbers of working men and women, to hear the early masses of five,

six, or seven o'clock on week days. Undoubtedly these present troubles have united the people, clergy, and chapter as one compact society under their bishop, just as we may suppose the clergy and people of Milan were united in the days of St. Ambrose.

Few thoughtful travellers will have failed to observe in the cities that have been placed under old ecclesiastical governments, where the hierarchy have been civil rulers, a certain dignity, simplicity and, by comparison, unworldly spirit both in the higher and lower ranks of the populations; a spirit of repose and contentment as compared with the feverish life of communities less happily circumstanced, though these latter are often beyond comparison richer, more stirring, and more powerful states. The truth of this will be seen by observers and thinkers not too impatient at the mere notion of comparing the *civilization* of past days with that which so many think the unrivalled excellence of modern liberal ideas and customs.

In proportion as such old and noble institutions have remained unspoiled by modern doctrines and the perpetual strife of modern learning (rather falsely so called), these societies retain the dignified impress of the sounder and truer discipline. This is eminently the case with the ancient capital of Westphalia.

It was in the Friedenssaal of Münster that the most important peace of modern times was signed. It was in Münster forty years since that Clemens August, the banished and persecuted Archbishop of Cologne, found hospitality and sympathy. His sojourn there left a deep impression, and taught a lesson which has never been forgotten. The shady walk outside the Mauritz Thur, by the side of which the stations of the Cross are erected, was his favourite resort. His sufferings and his merits were long remembered. And now the troubles of the May laws have not found this undemonstrative, but faithful and warm-hearted people wanting in affection and loyalty to their own immediate spiritual head.

The Government have been making great efforts since the passing of these laws to root out from the young, both of the higher and lower ranks, the practical religious training of past days. The children are no longer allowed to begin the school day in the cathedral and in other churches. The governesses are liable to fines if they are seen there along with their pupils. The teaching of religion as an intimate and essential part of the

school discipline is discouraged or forbidden ; and every effort is made to break down the wholesome restraints with which faith and piety had so long fenced round the early training of all children, of what rank or degree soever.

What we describe of one city might be repeated generally as regards many circles and societies of Germany. Only it is but few that are so generally made up of Catholics as Münster : nor are there many provinces in which the ancient landed estates, the old hospitable country houses, and town residences have been handed down amongst a Catholic nobility from father to son. There is a freshness of strength and the promise of a happier future in a state and city so much at unity with itself.

Semel admissum servabit oderem testa diū.

In pursuing our inquiries we not unnaturally ask, with what definite object these May laws were enacted ? The answer of the German bishops is in every instance, " It is an effort to destroy the Church." It is also commonly said, " If the consequences of these laws could have been foreseen, they would not have been proposed, or not as they now are. The strife, however, is now begun and the government does not dare to retract." It seems strange to us in this country that the rulers at Berlin, under whom Catholic sees and populations have long lived in peace, should thus attack them without any apparent reason. And again, on the other hand, that having so long been parties to concordats, and having been used to the working of ecclesiastical bodies and their principles and proceedings ; that there should have been such extreme ignorance as to what legal restraints could or could not be laid on the Catholic hierarchy without attacking its absolute existence : unless, indeed, the May laws were a *bona fide*, a direct and intentional attempt to destroy the Church. This too at a time like that which succeeded the war, when the political sky was serene and clear, during a state of unexampled prosperity, wealth, and earthly glory, which had not been bought without the blood of Catholics most freely shed, to satisfy the ambition of their rulers. Motives can only be divined from actions, and it is supposed, not apparently without good reason, that the principle on which the May laws were projected has been analogous to that which prompted the declaration of independence under Henry the Eighth in England or the establishment of Gallicanism in France. The creation of a national Church seemed possible to the German ministers. Few instru-

ments have added such power to any government as the established Church has given to our own, though it has probably outlived its day in this respect. If a "German Catholic Church" could have been set up, such as the German government longs for and hopes to see arise amongst the "Old Catholics," it might retain everything, as far as the rulers of Germany are concerned, on the one condition of *being German*; national, and not subject to the Holy See. It would be forced to lean on the government, and it would have to bear with other confessions, while it would help to isolate and bind up the German empire, which needs such a splendid addition to its newness to counterbalance the longing retrospect of subjugated states to a wider union under a Catholic emperor, the hereditary ally and defender of the Chair of St. Peter. Under that ancient sceptre, right made might: bishoprics, small states, and free cities could exist side by side with powerful kingdoms. The empire lately established stands on the very opposite principle, and statesmen may well desire to get the Church committed by a permanent bond to its maintenance.

Whether this hope has been really entertained; or whether the Church simply suffers the vengeance of the state for the offence of the decree of Infallibility; or whether it is thrown as a bait to radicalism, according to the interlocutor of "Renitentus," the attempt will not succeed. It is made also too late in the day. The Church has the experience of three centuries, touching such concessions as were made to Henry the Eighth; and of the consequences of separation from the Holy See. In Germany, the present persecutions have acted as a refreshing and strengthening discipline, as did the imprisonment of the Archbishop of Cologne forty years since. Not more, we believe, than thirty priests have yielded to the pressure put upon them throughout the whole of the North German dioceses. The German Catholics know something of history, but are not ignorant of their own religion. If they are brought up in traditionary reverence for civil authority they know in what relation they stand to that of the Church. The common sufferings for one and the same cause of pastors and people scattered through so many states, towns, and cities have drawn them together, as nothing but persecution could have drawn them. They have long memories for what is noble, loyal, faithful, and true. They will not be wanting to their pastors or to themselves in this their day of trial and rebuke.

Old York.

PART THE FIFTH.

WITH all their greatness the Lord Mayors of York were mortal men ; and lest they should ever forget it, there is duly recorded in the House Books of the City how a Lord Mayor during his mayoralty was sent to prison. Lord Mayor Cripling's sun was setting when this event befell him ; and when it had fully set, and another Lord Mayor reigned in his stead, his brethren sat in judgment on him, and their catalogue of his offences is very curious. While he was in prison in York Castle, the aldermen elected a Lieutenant for the imprisoned Mayor, and (January 25, 15⁷⁰₈₀), agreed "that our new master [the Lord Mayor elect] shall this day, in the afternoon, taking with him the macebearer and swordbearer, repair to my said Lord Mayor to the Castle to see if he will deliver over forthwith to the hands of our said new master or one of the aldermen, to the use of the mayor and commonalty of this city, all such plate, money, jewels and other things belonging to this corporation, as are in his custody at his house in Lathrop, or else that watch shall be kept about his said house during the time of his absence for safety of the same, by discretion of Mr. Lieutenant and our new master, until such time as my said Lord Mayor shall be released of his imprisonment" (n. 27, fol. 215 b, 216).

When set free, "Robert Cripling, late mayor of this city and yet alderman of the same," was accused (1) of neglecting to punish "such as obstinately and wilfully refused to come to divine service in their parish churches on the Sundays and holydays," (2) for "lodging during the whole time of his said mayoralty without the precincts of this city, a thing never heard of before," (3) that whereas the Queen and her progenitors have granted to the Mayor "execution of justice for the punishment of offenders and defence of the innocent, and as apparent signs and shows of the same, to have a sword and mace carried before him; the said late Mayor, in contempt as it may seem or overlight

regard of the said honourable signs, his office, place and calling, hath in the time of his mayoralty most indecently about ten of the clock in the daytime showed himself walking in the principal streets of this said city, in his coat, without any gown upon him, with a pike staff on his back and without any person attending upon him, albeit he hath at the charges of this city allowed for the honour of this city a good number of persons to attend upon [him] at all times, and having left the said honourable signs of his authority without the precincts of this city, to the grief of all the good citizens of the same and rejoicing of the enemies thereof (if any be). And himself then made and accounted [this] but as a matter of mockery, being gently and reverently reproved therefore or put in remembrance of the unseemliness of the thing by some of the discreet and good citizens of this city." (4) That he was convicted before "the Lord President and Council with the uttering of several opprobrious, slanderous and irreligious words against Mr. Palmer, Chancellor of the Cathedral Church here, calling him openly in the minster and immediately upon his sermon, 'Railer,'" and (5) that "such time as he ought to have occupied himself in the due execution of the Queen's Majesty's commission to him and others directed for the advancement of her Majesty's service to be done in Ireland, he uttered very unseemly and foul words containing seditious tenour, and tending to the contempt of the whole clergy, whereby as may be probably conjectured, certain lewd persons took encouragement after, to affix and set up in the streets seditious libels containing like filthy and lewd speeches touching the said clergy." In consequence of all which offences, Robert Cripling was "not only excluded and deprived from the council and company of this house, but also from the place, office and calling of alderman of this city; and, over that, for ever disfranchised and deprived from all freedom of this city and from all benefits which he may in any wise challenge by reason of the same."

Immediately after the punishment inflicted on Lord Mayor Cripling for his contempt for the "honourable signs" of the sword and mace, the Corporation spent some money on the neglected emblems of its municipal dignity. Even while the Lord Mayor was in custody in York Castle, a resolution was passed to render the swearing in of his successor more stately.

"3 February, 22 Eliz. [1570]. Also it is agreed by these presents that the waits of this city for the time being shall yearly

from henceforth, the day of the swearing of the new Lord Mayor play on their instruments before him and his brethren, &c., from the Common Hall to his dwelling-place, and sword-bearer to wear the hat of maintenance, and they to begin this day, and to have like wages as they are accustomed to have" (n. 27, fol. 218).

We learn from Drake¹ that the swordbearer wears the cap of maintenance "only on Christmas Day, St. Maurice [Maury's] day and on the days of high solemnity. This hat he puts off to no person whatever, and sits with it on all the time during Divine Service at the Cathedral or elsewhere." Richard II., in 1389, took his sword from his side and gave it William de Selby, then Mayor, to be borne before him and his successors, granting by Royal Charter, "gladium suum, eis per nos datum, aut alium gladium qualem eis placuerit, extra presentiam nostram et hæredum nostrorum habeant portatum, et portari facere possint, coram eis punctu erecto in presentia tam aliorum magnatum et dominorum regni nostri Angliae qui nos linea consanguinitatis attingunt et quorumcumque aliorum quam alio modo quocumque." Lord Sheffield, when Lord President of the North, required the sword to be abased in his presence, but on appeal to the Earl Marshal's Court it was given May 12th, 7 Jac. I. in favour of the Lord Mayor of York. The judges, consulted by the Lords Commissioners of the Earl Marshal's Court, Sir Edw. Coke and Sir Laur. Tanfield, were of opinion that "the Mayor of York ought not to deliver up the sword of justice which he holdeth by charter not to abase and bear down the same (especially in time of peace) in the presence of his Majesty's Lieutenant there." And the House Books bear traces of the decision, for where it had been entered by the common clerk that the sword had been reversed in the Lord President's presence, the words "with the point downwards" have been erased, lest they should form a precedent.

The following are the citizens' payments of money spent upon their dignified ensigns.

" 15 April, 22^o Eliz., 1580. Also it is agreed by these presents that the great mace shall be made to weigh in weight of silver the sum of forty ounces, and to be gilt and graven with the Queen's Majesty's arms on the same of the charge of this city, and likewise that both swords that are borne before my Lord Mayor shall have likewise new halberds [? scabbards], and the

¹ Abridged Edition, vol. ii. p. 118.

charges to be paid by Mr. Chamberlain, and likewise the hat of maintenance that the sword-bearer doth wear at certain times" (n. 27, fol. 232 b).

" 11 May, 22^o Eliz., 1580. And now it is agreed by these presents that William Scott, mercer, shall have 42s. 2d. for crimson velvet which was taken of him for covering two of the city's swords and hats of maintenance, and also that [blank] shall have 6s. for a quarter more of the like velvet taken for the same purpose, and all the same to be paid forthwith by the Chamberlains" (n. 27, fol. 236 b).

" 19 May, 22^o Eliz., 1580. And now it is agreed by these presents that a bill of charges touching the making of the new mace and garnishing the two swords, and for mending the hat of maintenance, exhibited by William Pearson, goldsmith, amounting to the sum of 25*l.* 8s. 3d., shall be forthwith paid by the Chamberlains of this City to the said William Pearson, for which bill of particulars hereafter followeth.

Imprimis, for 56 ounces and a half of silver, and for the making of the great mace and gilding of the same	{	24 <i>l.</i> os. 3 <i>d.</i>
<i>Item</i> , for a bolt of iron for the said mace, to the smith	{	4 <i>s.</i>
<i>Item</i> , for garnishing the two swords, and for silver and gilding the same	{	24 <i>s.</i>

" Charges for a new hat of maintenance, paid to Peter Wilkinson, hatter :

First, one felt hat	3 <i>s.</i>
<i>Item</i> , one gold edge	3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
<i>Item</i> , one gold tassel	5 <i>s.</i>
<i>Item</i> , for the lining in the head	18 <i>d.</i>
<i>Item</i> , for a cover of buckram	2 <i>s.</i>
<i>Item</i> , one gold band	22 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
<i>Item</i> , for making of the same hat	2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
<hr/>	
Sum	40 <i>s.</i>

" It is agreed that the new gilded mace shall be borne before the Lord Mayor for the time being at principal feasts" (n. 27, fol. 238).

" 17 June 22^o Eliz., 1580. And now a bill of charges for amending the old gilded mace, amounting to the sum of 31*s.*, was exhibited by William Pearson, goldsmith. Whereupon it was now agreed by these presents that the said 31*s.* shall be paid to the same William Pearson by the Chamberlains forthwith" (n. 27, fol. 243).

There was an occasion when all emblems of civic state were in great request, and as it is but just beyond the borders of the date to which we have confined ourselves, we proceed to the preparations made for the entry of King James, as he came southwards to take possession of the throne vacated by the death of Elizabeth.

The good citizens of York were a little flurried apparently, and it is amusing to see how often the stout posts and rails were ordered for the protection of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in the coming crush. King James' natural timidity shows itself in his dislike to fire-arms and pikes in the crowd, and in the precaution he required to be taken that the people should be kept back and "special and trusty citizens" to be placed in the front rank. The Mayor was to be told that it was "for avoiding of heat and evil air, and that the King might be better seen," or any other "colour" that the Lord President might like to invent.

But though the city of York was prepared to spend its money handsomely on such an occasion, and evidently would spare no pains to make a favourable impression on the King, there is something very canny in the way in which the Corporation met the Lord President's request for a loan to the King's use of 3,000*l.* They met their match when Lord Burghley answered their grandiloquent evasion that "all they had should be at the King's commandment," by the bluff retort that "that was nothing, unless they would set down or say what they would lend." This again is capped by the King's pretence, when they offered him the loan of 1,000*l.*, that he was "aminded to have returned their money back unto them," but for the fear lest he "should seem to disdain their offer," and so he "thought good to retain the same till his service required the use thereof."

"Vicesimo nono die Martii, 1603. And whereas it is expected that the high and mighty prince King James the Sixth, King of Scotland, who now is, by cause of the death² of our late Sovereign Queen of England, France and Ireland, proclaimed the King of England, France and Ireland, [is] to come to this city shortly, and for the entertainment and welcoming of his Highness to this city it is agreed that a silver cup, double gilt, having the city's arms on it, of the value of twenty pounds or thereabouts,

² Elizabeth died on Thursday, March 24, 1603, and James entered York on Saturday, April 16, 1603, O.S.

and a hundred pounds in gold of the same shall be given and presented unto his Highness at his coming to this city.

"And also for the more beautifying of this city³ against his Highness' said coming to this city, it is agreed that the wardens of every ward within their wards shall cause the Bars to be washed and painted over in good and decent sort and manner, as to the said wardens shall be thought meet and convenient, and also to take order that the inhabitants in every parish within the said wards shall pave before their doors, where need shall be, and to keep the same in good repair, and also to remove all clogge, stone-heaps, trees, dung-hills and filth forth of the street, and also for all hay hanging forth of their chamber windows. And also all penthouses to be new builded or well and sufficiently repaired or else to be pulled down. And also shall take order and cause that all inhabitants in their said ward, in such place as they shall think most meet and needful, shall paint and wash the outside of their houses and windows with such colours and in such sort as to the wardens shall be thought meet, with all speed.

"Also it is agreed that the officers of every ward shall this afternoon give commandment to all the constables in their ward that they give commandment to all inhabitants within their constableries, who are assessed to pay to the poor, that they be at the Minster to-morrow, at eight of the clock in the forenoon, at the sermon. And after the sermon ended, that they attend upon my Lord Mayor and aldermen from thence to the Common Hall, to the end my Lord Mayor and aldermen may confer with them in what gowns they shall attend upon my Lord Mayor and aldermen at the receiving of the King to this city.

"And it is agreed that the esquires, officers and porter to my Lord Mayor shall have new gowns of French russet colour made after the citizens' fashion, faced with coney³, against the coming of the King's Majesty to this city: the esquires to be of 13*s.* 4*d.* a yard and the officers and porter 11*s.* a yard for this time.

"Also it is agreed that my Lord Mayor, aldermen and Sheriffs and four and twenty, with such citizens as shall be appointed by this Court, shall meet the King's Majesty at Mawdley Chapel, if his Grace do remain at Bowdome, and that my Lord Mayor shall be on horseback, and the aldermen, sheriffs and four and twenty on foot" (n. 32, fol. 249 b).

³ Coney, rabbit's fur.

All this was on the following day announced by the Recorder to "the commons of this city and divers other inhabitants and strangers, which are no freemen of this city, which inhabitants in this city were warned to appear," and it was ordered "that there should be to the number of a hundred and more sufficient citizens and inhabitants of the best sort of this city, who are to have decent and comely gowns made after the citizens' fashion of a sad⁴ colour, against his Majesty's coming."

"Secundo die Aprilis, 1603. Assembled at my Lord Mayor's house the day and year above said, when and where my Lord Mayor declared to these presents that my Lord Burghley⁵ had sent for his lordship and his brethren to the Manor, and that there was no one there but only his Lordship and Mr. Alderman Robinson and Mr. Alderman Birkbye, and that my Lord Burghley did then make divers motions unto them as well for beautifying this city against the King's coming, and to hang the streets in some place, where the King's Majesty would come, with hangings of tapestry work and other decent and comely hangings, and that they should cause the streets to be sufficiently paved and amended, and to cause the outside of the houses to be painted, as also to certify to his lordship how many beds my Lord Mayor and every of the aldermen and citizens have and are able to make and furnish, to the end his lordship may take orders for the placing of the nobles and others attendant upon the King's Majesty at their houses. And also that they would amongst themselves lend unto the King's Majesty three thousand pounds for three months, and that they should have his lordship and the Council bound for the payment of the same again at three months' end and to certify his lordship to the end he might certify the King's Majesty thereof. And my Lord Mayor declared further to these presents how he answered his lordship that he and his brethren, the aldermen, had taken order for the beautifying of this city against the King's coming, also that the streets should be sufficiently paved, and the outside of men's houses painted over towards the street, and also for providing of beds, and asked my Lord Burghley if his lordship had any warrant or direction from the King's Majesty that this city should lend his Majesty any money, whereunto his lordship

⁴ "Sad, a deep dark colour."—*North. Halliwell.*

⁵ Thomas Cecil, second Lord Burghley, created Earl of Exeter, 3 Jac. I., May 4. He was succeeded as President of the Council in the North by Edmund Lord Sheffield in July, 1603.

answered he had not any, and my Lord Mayor craved time to answer his lordship. And now these presents, having well considered of the same, are agreed that my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder, and the aldermen shall go and answer his lordship to this effect : that is to say, if it be the King's Majesty's pleasure to command all that they have, the same shall be at his Majesty's commandment in such sort as it shall please his Majesty to command and require the same. And for the provision and placing of his nobles and others attendant upon his Majesty, my Lord Mayor and aldermen will take order for the placing of them at their discretion, and will be willing to accomplish all things necessary touching these affairs as heretofore they have been accustomed."

"Quinto die Aprilis, 1603. And now my Lord Mayor hath declared to these presents that my Lord President did yesterday in the morning send for his lordship, Mr. Recorder and the aldermen, his brethren. Whereupon my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder, and divers of the aldermen and Mr. Christopher Buck did go to my Lord President to the Manor, and there my Lord President demanded answer of them touching the lending unto the King's Majesty of three thousand pounds, which they answered his lordship that all that they had should be at the King's Majesty's commandment in such sort as it shall please his Majesty to command the same, to which my Lord President said that was nothing, unless they would set down or say what they would lend, for his lordship could not write unto the King's Majesty of no sum, and said they should have his lordship and the Council bound for the sum, to which my Lord Mayor and the rest said that that which they would lend unto his Majesty they would lend upon his Majesty's warrant unto them, without his lordship and the Council's bond, to which his lordship said "It was more credit for you so to do," and willed my Lord and the rest there to go into the council-chamber and to set down a sum what they would lend, and thereupon my Lord Mayor and the rest went into the council-chamber and there agreed to lend unto the King's Majesty one thousand pounds upon any warrant from the King's Majesty for the lending of the same, and so as [they] might send the same themselves by some whom they should appoint to carry the same to the King's Majesty ; and then they went to my Lord President's chamber and told his lordship that they would consent to lend 1,000/. upon any warrant from his Majesty, and so as they might send the same themselves to his Majesty, to which his lordship said "It may be the King's

Majesty will not be known to want any treasure, but if you shall have a letter from the King's treasurer for the same, will you be content to lend the same?" to which my Lord Mayor and the rest said they would: and my Lord Mayor declared that he hath called them together to make them acquainted with the same, and to see in what sort the same should be assessed, to the end the same may be in a readiness when the same shall be sent for."

On the same day the Corporation received the following letter from Lord Buckhurst and Sir John Fortescue:

After our hearty commendations, for that it may be his Majesty have present occasion to ask divers sums of money to be employed in his Highness' affairs, which with such speed as the same requireth cannot be from here conveyed into those parts, these are to pray you to take up in that city such sums of money as you any way can, and the same to deliver by his Majesty's warrant to such person or persons as shall be appointed therefor, which sum of money shall be here at London promptly repaid unto any person you shall authorize to receive the same. And herein for that it importeth his Majesty's service, we require you to show your carefulness and diligence, which will be both to his Majesty thankfully taken. And we will make assured present repayment as it is before expressed, so we commit you to God. At Sackville House, the 1st day of April, 1603.

Your loving friend,

T. BUCKHURST.

J. FORTESCUE.

Mr. Smith, a schoolmaster, was sent for "to see what good speech and show he could make to welcome the King's Majesty to this city against his Majesty's coming to this city, he craved him until Thursday next, at one of the clock in the afternoon, to consider the rest. And it is agreed that he shall then certify Mr. Alderman Harbert and Mr. Alderman Askwith, what he shall do therein, and what the matter will be which he will use, and to confer with them of the same and to follow their directions therein, and then the same to be further dealt in according to their directions." The head constables of the Ainsty were commanded to charge the inhabitants of Hessey to repair divers latches and fosses which are on the moor, for the King's Majesty's carriage and others attendant upon his Majesty, and also to give commandment to such as of right ought to repair Slipbridge lane, which is in great ruin, and forthwith to cause them to amend the same, and also the inhabitants of Holgate and others who ought to repair Holgate lane and cause them forthwith to repair the same, and also that they

see that the highway from Tadcaster to this city be in good repair, and that they do charge and command such as ought to repair the same. And also that they do give commandment to all the gentlemen and the best sort of yeomen in the Ainsty, which are men of comely personages and such as have decent and good apparel and good horses, to attend upon Mr. Sheriffs, to meet the King's Majesty at such place as they hereafter shall be appointed." "Also it is agreed that one Rawlyns shall have 10*s.* given him in reward towards his charge in coming to this city to confer with my Lord Mayor and aldermen touching making of a cundeth [conduit], to spring or run forth wine and water against the King's Majesty's coming to this city."

On the 7th of April, the Recorder and two aldermen were ordered to "go to the Manor and speak with my Lord President, and to make his lordship acquainted how the citizens do generally blame my Lord Mayor and the aldermen for that they have not written to the King's Majesty as other corporations have done, which my Lord Mayor and the aldermen stayed in regard my Lord President did promise to Mr. Recorder, Mr. Alderman Harbert, and Mr. Alderman Askwith not only to write unto the King's Majesty with what obedience and willingness my Lord Mayor and this city did proclaim his Majesty, and did charge his son, Sir Edward Cecil, to make the King's Majesty acquainted with their dutifulness; but that my Lord Mayor and the aldermen should hear that he would in the audience of him at the coming of the King's Majesty to this city commend them to his Majesty for their great dutifulness in his service; and to know whether his lordship hath written to his Majesty of their dutifulness and obedience, to the end they might better satisfy the citizens of this city.

"Also it is agreed that the Chamberlain shall pay unto Mr. Major Vavasour, Esq., 20*l.* for an instrument called the sagbutt [sackbut], which the said Mr. Vavasour hath lent unto the waits, and that the same shall remain to this city, and that the same shall be lent unto the waits, they putting in good security to have the same forthcoming to this city, and keeping the same well in good sort.

"Duodecimo die Aprilis, 1603. And now it is agreed that John Sanghold, bottle maker, shall make a cup case, which this city is to give to the King's Majesty.

"And now it is agreed that my Lord Mayor shall ride before the King's Majesty from the Bar to the Manor as heretofore

hath been used, and that there shall be some good course taken to make the King's Majesty acquainted that it hath been heretofore so used. And that my Lord Mayor shall have a footman to attend upon his lordship at the same time, and that my Lord Mayor shall provide him with all apparel saving a velvet pee, which shall be provided and bought of the city's cost, which shall have the city's arms on the same embroidered.

"Also it is agreed that a warrant shall be made to the head constables to give commandment to every gentleman, yeoman, and husbandman to have a good and sufficient horse in a readiness against his Majesty's coming to this city to serve upon an hour's warning.

"Also it is agreed that the waits shall play at Micklegate Bar at the receiving of the King's Majesty to this city, and after they shall have done there then to go over the water at Lendinge [Lendal], and through the Mintgarth to Bartholomew Appleby's house, and so to Bootham Bar, and that there shall be a scaffold made within Bar for them to stand and play on.

"Also it is agreed that there shall be warrant made to the officers of every ward that they give commandment to every inhabitant within their parishes, which have any kine and swine or mastiff dogs, that they keep them up in their houses and not suffer them to go into the streets during the time of the King's being in this city. Also that they shall give commandment to all constables of the parishes which adjoin on the high street leading from Micklegate Bar to Bootham Bar, that they give commandment to all inhabitants of the said parishes to strew the street before their doors with rushes, flowers, and herbs.

"Also it is agreed that some players shall sound their trumpets before the King's coming to the first gate at Micklegate Bar.

"Also it is agreed that the Sheriffs shall ride in their crimson gowns to meet the King's Majesty at Slipbridge.

"Also it is agreed that there shall be some stops⁶ and rails made in some convenient place without Micklegate Bar for my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder, aldermen, and four-and-twenty to stand to welcome the King's Majesty to this city, to keep them from horses.

"Also it is agreed that the presents which this city will give to the King's Majesty shall be delivered the next morning after his Majesty's coming to this city, and that Mr. Recorder shall deliver a note in writing of the said presents at the Bar when he

⁶ "Stop or stoup, a post fastened in the earth : a Northern word." Todd's *Johnson*.

shall have made a speech to his Majesty, as was at the coming of King Henry the Eighth to this city.

"Also it is agreed that ten pounds worth of maynebread shall be provided and bought against the King's Majesty's coming to this city, and that the same shall be given and presented to his Majesty that night his Majesty cometh to this city.

"Also it is agreed that Mr. Alderman Hall, Mr. Alderman Brenburie, Mr. Percival Brooke, Mr. William Breary, and Henry Thompson, they or any four or three of them shall call before them the waits of this city, and such other musicians as they shall think good, and appoint what place they shall stand to play in at the King's coming to this city.

"Octavo die Aprilis, 1603. Robert Watter, Lord Mayor. Assembled at my Lord Mayor's house the day and year above said, when and where Mr. Recorder delivered the copy of a letter written from Mr. Fearne⁷ to my Lord President, the tenour whereof hereafter follows.

May it please your lordship, I am directed to signify unto your lordship that you would be pleased to take order that no man carry pistols, daggers, or any pike, or other weapon or arms, except rapier and dagger, or sword and dagger. Also that the place where the King shall stay to hear the speeches, or for any other coming as he cometh and passeth in this city, that the place be made large and open, and the press or crowd be kept as far and wide from him as may be, so that he may have space and room to stir his horse up and down, and not to stand still. Also that in those places special and trusty citizens and others known do stand in the former rank before the crowd and press of the people, and keep them back. Therefore that it would please your lordship to call immediately for the Lord Mayor and the Recorder, and give them charge that in every house strait search be made for all that wear pistols, daggers, pikes, or arms. And that every master of a family be charged to take from everyone that entereth his house such things, and to carry them and the parties to the Mayor. Here hath been proclamation made to that effect, but I cannot yet get a copy of it: and for keeping open the place where the King shall stay: to tell the Mayor it is for avoiding of heat and evil air, and that the King may be better seen, [or] what other colours it shall please your lordship [to] allege. So I take humble leave.

"And now it is agreed that the wardens of every ward shall call before them the constables of every parish within their wards, and make them acquainted with the tenour of the letter written by Mr. Fearne, and charge them that they give com-

⁷ Afterwards Sir John Ferne, Secretary to the Council of the North.

mandment to all the inhabitants within their parishes that they do take from any person that shall wear any pistols, daggers, pikes, or arms when they come to this city, the same, and carry them and the said persons before my Lord Mayor or some other Justice of Peace within this city, according to the tenour of the letter.

"And also it is agreed that there shall be stops and rails made in the street within Micklegate Bar for my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder, the aldermen, and four-and-twenty, to keep them from horses against the coming of the King to this city.

"*Nono die Aprilis, 1603.* Robert Watter, Lord Mayor. Assembled in the council chamber upon Ouse Bridge the day and year above said, when and where the accounts and orders of the last court were read and confirmed.

"And now my Lord Mayor hath delivered into the open court to be read, these letters, the one from the King's Majesty and the other from Sir George Hewm, treasurer to his Majesty in Scotland, which Mr. Robert Askwith, alderman, and Mr. Robert Harrison, gentleman (who were sent from this court with a thousand pounds to be lent to his Majesty), did bring and deliver to his lordship, the tenour whereof hereafter follows.

To our right trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, aldermen, and common Council of our city of York,

JAMES, REX.

Right trusty and well-beloved,—We greet you heartily well. We have received your letter, whereby we praise your earnest affection and special care which you have of us, for which we give you hearty thanks. And although the settling of the state of this kingdom hath caused us to come hither both a great deal sooner than any man looked for, and worse provided than otherwise would have been, yet were we not so ill served of our own as that we either did or do stand in need of money for our journey. We were therefore aminded to have returned your money back unto you; but lest we should seem to disdain your offer, or any way take your proffered good will in evil part, we have thought good to retain the same till our service requireth the use thereof, and that it may serve us to some better purpose than possibly now it can do. In the meantime we will make account of you, as of them whom we will not stick frankly to command, not in such a matter as that only, but whatsoever you have besides which we shall think expedient for us. The rest referring till in person we see you, we bid you right heartily farewell.

From our town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 11th of April, in the first year of our reign, 1603.

A letter from Sir George Hume we omit.

"And the said Mr. Alderman Askwith doth declare to this

court how that he, by such means as he made, came to his Majesty in his presence-chamber where he, then doing of his humble duty to his Majesty, did declare in words to his Majesty, how that my Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Privy Council of this city, in some token and sign of their inward love and affection to his Highness, had sent to his Majesty by way of loan the sum of one thousand pounds (in respect they did understand his treasure was not comded to him, his Majesty having hastened his journey into England sooner by eight days than was appointed), and that all that they had should be at his Majesty's commandment, in such sort as it should please his Majesty to command the same, or to this effect. Whereunto his Majesty answered and said: 'I take it very well, it shall be thankfully repaid, and that soon. It is said that that city standeth in the midst of the land betwixt London and Edinburgh. It is thought I should do it good, and I will do it all the good I can,' using withal some other words to this effect, willed him to thank the Lord Mayor. And Mr. Askwith humbly took his leave. And the said Mr. Alderman Askwith then presently after delivered a letter to the Lord Treasurer, which when he had received and read the same he went to the King's Majesty, and coming again to the said Mr. Askwith said, his Majesty stood [in] no need of it, and said they might have the same back again. Whereupon Mr. Askwith requested his honour that the same might be received and accepted of, for if the same should be sent back again it would be thought by divers that his Majesty was some way offended at this city. Whereupon the said Lord Treasurer went again to his Majesty and came again to the said Mr. Askwith, and told him that his Majesty was content to make acceptance of the money, in regard that the Lord Mayor and the rest should have [no] cause to think the offer of their good will should be disdained by his Majesty, whereupon it was received. And the aforesaid letters from his Majesty and the Lord Treasurer were delivered to the said Mr. Askwith to bring to the Lord Mayor and his brethren.

"Also it is agreed that Simon Weartnie shall ride to-morrow to Tadcaster, where the King's Majesty intendeth to lie that night, and that my Lord Mayor shall write a letter my Lord Burghley to request his lordship to certify my Lord Mayor what way the King's Majesty will come to this city, whether over Skipbridge or over the forest, and at what time of the day.

"Also it is agreed that the cup of silver, double gilt, and the hundred pounds in gold shall be written in a paper, and that

Mr. Recorder, at the receiving of the King's Majesty at the Bar, when he shall have made his speech, shall deliver the paper to his Majesty. And that the gift shall be given and presented to his Majesty the next day in the morning after his coming to this city, and that my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder, Mr. Aldermen, sheriffs, and four and twenty, Common Clerk and chamberlains shall go with the same to the Manor, and that they shall all attend upon his Majesty to the Minster to the sermon.

"Also it is agreed that there shall be stoups and rails on the north side of the street within the Bar, for to keep the horses from my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder, aldermen, and four and twenty, and a place for my Lord Mayor and Mr. Recorder to stand on. And that the wardens of Micklegate Ward, Mr. William Breary and Mr. Robert Harrison, gentlemen, shall see them made and appoint, in what sort the same shall be made, and shall set work-fellows on work presently.

"Also it is agreed that the wardens of every ward shall appoint ten different men in every ward to be wiflers⁸ in the streets, to sit and keep the people in order at the King's Majesty's coming to this city.

"Also to appoint different men and a sufficient number to watch at the Bars during the time of the King's Majesty's abode in this city.

"Also it is agreed that Mr. Sheriffs shall ride to meet the King's Majesty at Skipbridge, with their crimson gowns and state clothes.

"Also it is agreed that none of the aldermen but my Lord Mayor shall ride before the King's Majesty at the receiving of his Majesty into this city.

"Also it is agreed that there shall be warrants made unto the constables of every parish that they give commandment to every inhabitant which hath a gown to be ready to attend upon my Lord Mayor at the receiving of the King's Majesty into this city, with the same on and in his best apparel. And all other inhabitants which have no gowns to be in their best apparel and in their cloaks, except such as are appointed to attend and ride with Mr. Sheriffs.

"Also that they give commandment to the churchwardens of their several parishes to cause the bells to be rung the same night his Majesty cometh to this city.

⁸ "Whiffler, a harbinger, probably one with a horn or trumpet." *Johnson*. "Like a mighty whiffler 'fore the King." *Shakspeare, Henry the Fifth*.

"And also that they give commandment to every inhabitant to have a bonfire that night before his door."

"Decimo die Aprilis, 1603. Robert Watter, Lord Mayor.

"Assembled at my Lord Mayor's house the day and year above said, when and where one Mr. Lister came from the Right Honourable [George Clifford] the Earl of Cumberland, to acquaint my Lord Mayor and his brethren how that the said Earl, according to his right, expected to bear the sword before the King's Majesty in this city, in such sort as his ancestors have been accustomed to bear the same, which being duly considered upon by these presents, and forasmuch as it doth not appear by any of the ancient precedents of this city that he the said Earl, nor any of his ancestors have ever before this time borne the same sword before any of his Majesty's progenitors, neither hath the said Earl showed any writing in that behalf, but only claimeth the same by prescription; therefore it is agreed by these presents that Mr. Recorder and Mr. Robert Askwith, alderman, shall go to his honour and answer him to this effect, viz.: That my Lord Mayor would deliver the sword to his Majesty, and leave it to his Majesty's disposition who shall bear the same, whether my Lord Mayor, his honour, or any other, as it shall please his Majesty.

"Also it is agreed that the belman shall cry in the streets as followeth:

My Lord Mayor of this city of York straitly chargeth and commandeth in the name of our sovereign lord the King, that all and every common victualler within this his Majesty's city, that is to say, bakers, brewers, butchers, fishers and vintners, cooks and innholders, do not cater or sell any victuals but such as shall be good and wholesome for man's body during such time as his Majesty shall abide and remain within this his Highness' said city, and at reasonable price. And that all innholders and others which do or shall harbour any persons attending upon his Majesty shall not sell or deliver any manner of oats for horses but such as shall be good and after the rate of 6d. the peck and not above, and hay after the rate of 6d. a day and night and not above, upon pain of forfeiting of the sum of 5l., to be paid by any person which shall do the contrary.

God save the King.

"Duodecimo die Aprilis, 1603. Robert Watter, Lord Mayor.

"Assembled at my Lord Mayor's house the day and year above said, when and where it was agreed that the King's Majesty's Clerk of the Market, which brought a proclamation for price of victuals to my Lord Mayor and demanded 40s. fee,

yet in regard my Lord Mayor is Clerk of the Market in this city, and the King's Clerk of the Market did not execute his office in this city, [he] was content to take 10s. which was given him.

"Also it is agreed that the King's footman shall have 5*l.* fee given him.

"Also to the King's trumpeters, and her Majesty's late Serjeant Trumpeter, shall have 4*l.* given amongst them.

"Also the King's porter 10*s.*

"Also to the Serjeant-at-Arms 40*s.*

"Also to the Gentlemen Harbingers 20*s.*

"Also to the King's cook 3*l.*

"Also to the Waggon Master 10*s.*

"Also to the grooms of the King's chamber 10*s.*

"Also it is agreed that there shall be rewards given to divers of the noblemen of Scotland which attend upon the King's Majesty, that is to say :

"To my Lord Hume a double gilt bowl or cup to the value of 6*l.*

"To Sir George Hume, Lord Treasurer of Scotland, the like gift.

"To Sir Thomas Parkyn, Captain of the Guards, the like gift.

"To Sir Roger Ashton, one of the Privy Chamber, the like gift.

"To Mr. Nicholson the like gift to the value of 5*l.*

"To Sir John Ramsey a cup or jewel to the value of 5*l.*

"Also it is agreed that Mr. Alderman Askwith and the Common Clerk shall provide and get the rewards aforesaid.

"Also it is agreed that there shall be given to my Lord Dudley's players for sounding of their trumpets at the coming of the King's Majesty to this city 8*s.* 4*d.*"

"Sexto die Junii, 1603. Sir Robert Watter, Knight, Lord Mayor.

"Assembled in the Common Hall, when and where it was agreed that there shall be presented and given by this city, that is to say, to the Queen's Majesty, a cup of silver, double gilt, weighing forty-eight ounces and a half, and fourscore angels of gold in the same. And to the Prince a cup of silver, double gilt, weighing twenty ounces, and forty angels of gold, and to the princes a purse and twenty angels of gold, all which shall be presented by my Lord Mayor, Mr. Recorder, aldermen, and four-and-twenty, Common Clerk, and chamberlains, in the next morrow after the coming of her Majesty to this city, at the Manor, at some convenient time when it shall be thought most meet."

Catholic Review.

I.—REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Introductio Generalis ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam critice tractandam*, auctore P. Carolo de Smedt, in Coll. Theol. S.J. Lovaniensi Hist. Eccl. Professore. Gandavi [Ghent]: C. Poelman, 1876.

THE Belgian character is a very satisfactory combination of the qualities possessed by the French and Germans. In the Walloons naturally the French nature predominates; but to our judgment the happiest inter-mixture is to be found in our neighbours, and cousins a few degrees removed, the Flemings. They combine the vivacity and energy of the French and the laborious unwearying perseverance of the Germans with an admirable clearness, all their own. The Catholic and clerical side of the brave little nation is naturally that which interests us most, and it seems to us that we should do wisely to look for example more frequently than we do to the Flemish provinces of Belgium.

One advantage they have over us in this, that the educated classes in Flanders are necessarily bilingual. Not content with this—perhaps in consequence of the habits entailed by the constant effort to think and speak in French, the clerical body in Flanders have a familiarity with the use of Latin as a spoken tongue that may be equalled in Rome, but is not surpassed anywhere. It may surprise us, who unfortunately have not the same habit, but it shows the place occupied by the Church's tongue amongst the excellent priests of Belgium, that all the clergy retreats are given in that language. The annual retreat in all the episcopal seminaries without exception, and the retreats of the town and country clergy of each diocese, are given in Latin throughout, that is, both the points of the meditations and the conference or exhortation. At Louvain once a month the clergy of the town assemble in the domestic chapel of the Jesuit College for an exhortation, which for years was given by the venerable Père Van der Ghote, who has but just passed to his rest; and it is not to be wondered at that it was in Latin in the midst of a Catholic University town. The veteran Père Van de Kerckhove, who also has not long been dead, has left in his *Memorialis Libellus* the notes of clerical retreats given by him through nearly half a century, together with the history of clerical retreats in those parts. It is singular to find that the Dutch Government of King William did its best to hinder the clergy from meeting for their retreats, and that up to

1830, when the Belgian nation and Church were set at liberty, a few priests would meet in some gentleman's *château* or in some retired country parish priest's house, where they would be content with a barn for their lodging in order to make the Exercises under one of the Pères de la Foi or of the newly restored Society. Before those days of Protestant ascendancy, he tells us that once, in 1801, no less than three hundred priests assembled in the Irish Franciscan Convent at Louvain, where Père Hahnat, a priest of the Society of the Sacred Heart, gave them a retreat.

However, we are not now concerned with the Exercises of St. Ignatius, except so far as the manner of giving them in Belgium shows the familiarity of the clergy of that country with the traditional language of the Church. And we have been led to refer to that use of Latin in Belgium by the appearance in that country of the first volume of Père de Smedt's *Critical Dissertations on Ecclesiastical History*. As may be imagined, if the Belgians make such free use of Latin in extempore speech, they employ it no less in their scientific books; and these can thus circulate with equal facility in both Germany and France. We venture to express a hope that the volume before us will have a larger circulation in England as it is written in Latin than it would have had if it had been in French.

In another matter this volume excites our envy. In it we have 550 pages, printed in Latin, on good paper, with good type and every mark of careful editing, for five francs. An edition in Belgium must be much larger than that which an English Catholic publisher would dare to undertake, for the book to pay its own expenses at such a rate. On the Continent, Catholic publishers look for a large sale, and a wide circle of purchasers buy only if the price is low. The result too often is the production of a book most wretched to look at and a pain to read, where everything has been sacrificed to cheapness. Père de Smedt's volume is a pleasant contrast to books of this sort, and will bear favourable comparison even with our English books, excepting in the one particular of the paper cover and the consequent necessity of a speedy binding. Our cloth covers are so great a comfort, good for the look as well as for use, and at the same time so moderate in cost, that we are surprised that they have not long ago been adopted by Continental publishers.

We turn from the outside to the inside of Père de Smedt's volume, though in our last number we spoke of it in terms of high and well-merited praise. This is, be it remembered, *A General Introduction to Church History*, preparatory to the six volumes of *Critical Dissertations* which it is the author's intention to publish. This introductory volume may be said to consist of two parts, though they are to some extent interwoven. A considerable portion of the volume is made up of dissertations on the sources of history, on their authority, and on the right manner of using them; and the rest of it consists of lists of the books in the various branches of the subject that may be consulted by

the students of those branches. The labour of the compilation of this collection—in itself an extensive *catalogue raisonné* of books—has been such as to call forth very unusual powers of diligent and persevering work; and the critical acumen displayed in the dissertations has produced scientific results of a high order. This *Introduction* will therefore in some part serve the student as a guide, instructing him as to what materials still exist out of which Church History can be written, and as to the degree of certainty to which he may hope to arrive in his conclusions; and again, when he has made his choice of the epoch and locality that he proposes to make the object of his study, it will serve him as a book of reference, greatly shortening his labour by directing him at once to the writings of those who have gone before him in the field that he would cultivate.

The first treatise is on the rules of criticism, and the Author discusses, with regard to documentary evidence, the signs of authenticity, genuineness, and integrity, the true method of interpretation, the comparative authority of witnesses, the force of their silence, and the effect of conflicting evidence. He then passes to oral tradition, and other unwritten sources of history, and to induction and conjecture. The second treatise is occupied with the division of Church history into the six ages, to each of which the author proposes to devote a volume. The third is on the sources of history, and in this treatise the most valuable part of the volume will be found. It commences with the documentary evidence for the history of the Church in general—public documents, Church historians, Greeks, and other Orientals as well as Latins, and other ecclesiastical writers. We then have a very interesting chapter on the Histories of the Saints, first, on the Acts of the Martyrs before the time of Constantine, then on the Acts of subsequent Martyrs, and the Lives of Confessors, and on Collections of Saints' Lives. The Martyrologies come next, and the lessons respecting the Saints in the Roman Breviary, with a careful discussion of their historical value; and these are followed by the Oriental collections of histories of the Saints. Passing from the general history, we have a chapter of great importance and interest on the existing materials for the history of the Popes,—the Catalogues, and especially that known as the Liberian, the Liber Pontificalis, and the documents in succession that bring the history of the Holy See down to the fifteenth century. After the Mother and Mistress of all Churches, our author takes us through Christendom, and enumerates for us the writers on the history of the Churches of countries and even of particular sees, as well as of all ancient religious orders. He has then short treatises of the use of archaeology, inscriptions, coins and seals in their bearing on Church history. His last treatise is on subsidiary sources—the documents on which general history is constructed, on which the ecclesiastical historian must always have an eye. The author goes with wonderful perseverance through the sources of the history of the Graeco-Roman Empire, of the Western nations in the

middle ages, devoting a section to each, and through the catalogues of manuscripts and of libraries; and the volume winds up with the more modern ecclesiastical historians, those who have written on the history of the Church in general, or on the Popes, the Councils, the Fathers, or on ecclesiastical writers. So that if any one wishes to study any particular portion of this vast science, he may here find what to read, as well as how he is to read it. The more vast and complicated the science is found to be, the greater will be the gratitude of the student to the painstaking and clear-headed professor who comes to his assistance.

In turning over the leaves, we naturally stop to see what the author has done for England, and we find first, documents concerning the Churches of Britain in general and especially England, the Councils of course—Spelman, Wilkins, Lindwood, Haddon, and Stubbs; then a couple of pages of the titles of books, including writers of all ages from Ven. Bede to Canon Flanagan—Parker, Godwin, and Usher are named as well as Alford, Cressy, and the Bishop of Chalcedon, and beside Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Church*, we perceive a German work on the first century of the Anglo-Saxon Church, published at Passau, in 1840, by G. Schrödl. It is among foreign proper names that an editor's trials of spelling are found, and while we bear testimony to Père de Smedt's unusual accuracy, we notice some errors that have escaped him, of which the most notable is "Waterford" for Father Waterworth. The collections of Saints' Lives follow—Capgrave, Wilson, and Challoner. In this class our author places the prints from the old pictures in the Church of the English College at Rome, published in 1584, which book he rightly attributes to Father William Good, the Confessor of the College. From these general collections,¹ we pass to the churches of Bath and Wells, Canterbury, Chester (mislabeled *Cicestrie*), Durham, York, Ely, Exeter, Hexham, Hereford, Llandaff, Lichfield, London, Rochester, Salisbury, Sodor and Man, Worcester and Winchester, and under each of these names he has given the list of its historians, ancient and modern. Scotland and Ireland meet with similar treatment. And after all these, there is a further list of books which are of the greatest utility to the student of Church History, including the publications of

¹ The mention of collections of Saints' Lives reminds us of the vastest and most valuable collection that has ever been made, which we owe to our painstaking brethren of Belgium. And as we have already noticed two Fathers whom the Belgian Province of the Society has lately lost, we cannot now fail to mention with sincere sorrow the death, on the 23rd of May, of the amiable and learned Bollandist Père Victor de Buck. For thirty-one years the Bollandist Library has been his home, and all countries owe him their thanks for all that he has written in honour of their saints. May his home soon be in their happy company.

In the notice of his death we have received we find the following words, which certainly could be said of few men of any age but some of his brother Bollandists.

Innumeros codices plerosque minus notos
Italos, Afros, Hispanos, Gallos, Francosque
Britannos, Hibernos, Scotos et Anglos,
Belgas, Danos, Germanos, Slavos,
Ægyptios, Gracos, aliasque Orientales,
illustravit aut ab obliuione vindicavi

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the Master of the Rolls; and the whole winds up with an enumeration of the literary societies of the United Kingdom, which we had not thought it possible for any foreigner to have compiled. We have thus tested the book in the portion where the acquisition of materials must have been most difficult, and we have learnt to trust it in those other portions where we should stand more in need of its assistance. This English portion will be of the greatest use especially to the foreign students who are engaged on various parts of English Church history.

But the reader must not conclude from the specimen we have chosen that this introductory volume is nothing but a catalogue, however useful, which is not readable, or of which, if read, we should have to say what some intelligent foreigner is reported to have said of *Johnson's Dictionary*, that "it was a very learned book, but rather unconnected." The Dissertations we have mentioned will fully repay perusal, and will cause the reader to desire to see the volumes of history which are to follow, constructed on these theories. That desire we have already expressed, and warmly entertain. Père de Smedt's pupils will bear us out in the assertion that we make, not without *connaissance de cause*, that the learned professor seems to come to his conclusions, after long and complicated investigations, almost by a happy instinct. He reminds us of a judge on the Bench summing up evidence, and he causes us to forget the very existence of the passion and prejudice which writers like Mr. Froude call "history." After the power of hard work, the true judicial faculty is the highest gift in an historian, and Père de Smedt possesses both of them in a very high degree.

J. M.

2. *L'Eglise Russe, et l'Immaculée Conception.* Par le R. P. Gagarin, S.J. Paris, 1867.

This little work is the amplification of an address to the members of an association of prayers for the return of Russia to Catholic unity. The antecedents of the author, a convert from the Russian schism, bar all question as to his competency to bear witness to the traditional faith of his countrymen, and former co-religionists. He begins with a brief statement of what the dogmatic Bull, *Ineffabilis Deus* (December 8, 1854), was intended to define, a preliminary by no means superfluous, when we remember how naïvely our contemporaries, from that date to the present moment, parade their unconscious ignorance of what they bespatter with their scurrility. The first witness he summons is Lazarus Baranovitch, Archbishop of Tchernigoff, who for six years had presided over the celebrated academy, or theological school of Kieff, the Sorbonne of the Russian Church, and *alma mater* of its most distinguished prelates. In a volume of sermons, entitled, *Trumpets for the principal Feasts of the year*, published in 1684, he most unhesitatingly asserts, as an unquestionable truth, Mary's peerless privilege. Equally plain is the witness borne to the views held at Kieff in the seventeenth century, by Antony Radivilowski, Vicar of the Laura of the Crypts at Kieff, in his

Garden of Mary, Mother of God. This is followed by a most telling passage from a Sermon on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, by Galiatowski, who besides being Rector of the Academy of Kieff, was pre-eminent among the Russian divines of the seventeenth century. The possible suggestions of Jesuit influence, or of crypto-Romanizing, are obviated by the fact that the first and third of these writers vigorously defended the points which do duty as pretexts for the Eastern schism. They maintained the Catholic affirmation of the stainless Conception of the Mother of God, because it was in conformity with the traditions of their school and the mind of their national Church.

The Starowierzi (old believers) who, like most other Russian dissenters, have proved themselves apt pupils of Photius and Cerularius, in the art of grounding a schism on trivial and childish pretexts, are, in virtue of their exaggerated conservatism, unexceptionable witnesses to the traditions of the Russian Church, and most impervious to Catholic influences. The revision of the liturgical books, under the Patriarch Nicon, in 1654, was, as is well known, the occasion of their withdrawal from the national communion. In a confession of faith, drawn up by their chiefs, in 1841, the Immaculate Conception is expressly affirmed, and its denial by the "Niconians" (the name by which they designate the adherents of the State Church), is branded as unorthodox, derogatory to the dignity of the Mother of God, and to the Divine omnipotence. But the Sacred Liturgy, and the formulae of public prayer will ever remain the most authentic expression of the religious consciousness of Christian generations; between the *lex credendi* and the *lex supplicandi* there is a constant action and reaction, as between the *natura naturans* and the *natura naturata*. Now the Russian offices abound with testimonies to the singular stainlessness of our Blessed Lady; they repeatedly apply to her the words addressed to the Bride in the Canticles;¹ they never weary of extolling the purity of Mary, for that it is a gift in which no mortal may claim to share with her. But the truth of the author's contention is set beyond all question by the expressions to be culled from the office of December 9, the day on which the Greek and Russo-Greek Churches celebrate "the Conception of St. Anne, when she conceived the all-holy Mother of God." Her conception is styled "holy," "glorious," "the dawn of the day of grace," and the like. On the other hand, the author discovers traces of a contrary tradition, even in the time of Nicon (1655), long before the influx of Protestant ideas, which leavened Russian "orthodoxy" under Peter the Great and his immediate successors. Father Gagarin looks on this tradition as an importation from Constantinople, to which the Patriarch Nicon bowed, as to the touchstone of orthodoxy. As he reminds us, the attempt of the unhappy Cyril Lucaris to Protestantize the Greek Church, though baffled by his frequent depositions from the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, his tragic end, and the

¹ "All fair art thou, my love, and there is no spot in thee" (Cant. iv. 7).

repeated condemnations of his profession of faith, by councils held at Constantinople in 1639, and 1642, and the still more important Council of Jerusalem in 1672, had yet leavened the Greek Churches with certain Protestant views, the traces whereof may be found in the confession of Metrophanes Critopoulos, Patriarch of Alexandria. Despite the active part taken by this worthy in the condemnation of Lucaris, while maintaining the exemption of the Blessed Virgin from all actual sin, he impugns the doctrine of her Immaculate Conception on grounds which, to say the least, betray very hazy views as to the Incarnation and Atonement. Like Lucaris, Critopoulos had studied under Protestant masters, having spent some eight years at Tübingen, Strasbourg, and Oxford, which may account for his Calvinizing on this point. Father Gagarin, at the close of this interesting treatise, freely acknowledges that, owing to the intellectual anarchy prevailing under the guidance of the "Most Holy" Governing Synod, many, both of the clergy and laity, reject the Immaculate Conception, even as they deny other Catholic doctrines. But, he adds, the unsophisticated masses deem any taint of sin incompatible with their traditional idea of the surpassing sanctity of God's most holy Mother. May she, in consideration of this, hasten the day of their reunion to the source of Catholic life and truth!

3. *Five Lectures on the City of Ancient Rome and her Empire over the nations.* By the Rev. Henry Formby. London : Burns and Oates.

The thesis developed and established in these five Lectures is, that the Roman Empire was, in the counsels of God, intended to serve as a pioneer for a far more enduring and wide-spreading empire, the kingdom of Christ, abiding, energizing, and shaping the destinies of mankind in His Holy and Catholic Church, which has fixed the centre of her unity where was once the seat of a world-wide dominion. The idea, as may be seen, is not novel, as, to instance but one of the early Fathers, St. Leo the Great expressly asserts it more than once in his discourses, and his utterances, as the author reminds us, have found an echo in Dante's *Divina Comedia*. On its practical importance to the student of history, to the apologist and preacher, it is needless to insist. We pass on to the line of argument pursued by the author, which may be summed up as follows: "(1) It can be shown *a priori*, that the course of pre-Christian history was, and must have been a preparation for the Church, its efficacy and permanence. (2) The Roman Empire was no small part of this providential preparation. (3) It can be shown, *a posteriori*, or by an appeal to facts, that the said Empire aided in sundry ways, the spread and enduring establishment of Christianity. (4) Inspired prophecy bears witness to the character we claim for the Roman polity in its relation with the Catholic Church. (5) This claim is further confirmed by the fact that the Church has taken up into her own system several of the institutions of the Roman Empire.

The first point in the argument postulates nothing more than that Divine Wisdom, ever consistent with Itself, guides the course of ages to their culmination, under conditions adapted to the free activity of the human agency, which It deigns to associate with Itself in the execution of Its designs, that we can no more admit *a saltus*, or sudden transition in history, than in visible nature. Waiving for the nonce the precedents supplied by the prophetic utterances of Isaias as to the founder of the Persian Empire, and the providential purpose it was intended to subserve, as also the significant fact that the sacrifice of Golgotha was, under its legal aspect, an act of the Roman power, we pass on to the less questionable, because empirical proofs of the services rendered by the Roman polity to Christianity, considered not merely as a doctrine and a school, but as an institution big with the destinies of mankind. The building up of the nations into a political unity, which though imposed at first by the sword, was at length acquiesced in with pride, foreshadowed the marvellous unity, which, without effacing the local differences of tribe and tongue, subordinates them to the hallowed bond, whose reason and exemplar must be sought for in the brightness of "the light unapproachable." And further, the sound common sense, the practical wisdom of Rome, wedded to Greek culture, rendered it for the nations it gathered into its unity, a centre of light, and of civilizing influences. Its institutions, its wondrous system of legislation, and with all due deference to our friends of the *Ver Rongeurs* school, be it said, its literature, formed for the most part on Greek models, proved of no slight avail to the Roman Church, when called upon in its turn to scatter anew, and foster the seeds of civilization.

But to descend to particulars, no one can question the immense facilities afforded to the first Apostles of truth by the paramount importance given to Divine worship and all connected therewith, the respect paid to the dead, to tombs and the rites of burial, the esteem wherein voluntary chastity was held, as instanced in the institution of Vestal Virgins, with the honours and privileges attaching to their profession, and last, though not least, by the recognition of the dignity of woman, of the honour and virtue of the maid and matron, not to mention that while, even in Jerusalem, polygamy was tolerated, Rome steadfastly adhered to the primal law of marriage, so far forth, at least, as it forbade simultaneous plurality.

In a few brief, but pregnant sentences, the author sketches the contrast between the respect for personal and corporate rights, and the freedom of individual action guaranteed by the letter and spirit of Roman law, and the centralizing tendencies, the mania for intermeddling, of our brand new constitutional governments. He shows further on, how this contributed to blunt the sword of persecution, and to a certain extent, to account on natural grounds, for the ultimate triumph of the Church over the official Paganism.

We forbear passing judgment on that part of the argument which drawing upon prophecy, and the universally admitted typical character

of the personages and events of the Old Testament, represents Esau and Jacob as types of the relations of the Roman Empire with the Church. Before dealing with the objections to his theory which lie, so to speak, on the very surface of history, the author briefly reverts to the unquestionable fact that the Church has, to a certain extent, shaped her legislation, ritual, and nomenclature, on precedents supplied by the Empire she has superseded.

But to pass to those objections, which are presented in their full cogency. The Roman Empire sought to stifle Christianity in the blood of its adherents. True, but in the Divine plan of human redemption, the shedding of blood, the willing self-sacrifice of pure victims are the indispensable conditions of human deliverance, of the recovery of man's forfeited inheritance. "The blood of the martyrs was the seed of Christians."

The second objection, which grounds on the similarities, real or fancied, between Pagan and Christian Rome, a charge of apostasy against the latter, is shown, it seems to us, at somewhat needless length, to be the natural outcome of that phase of British Christianity, which blended with insular self-conceit, stunts the mind, and renders it incapable of grasping in their unity the leading facts of history. It serves, however, to introduce the fourth and fifth Lectures, which treat of ancient Gentilism, with a special view to the religious institutions of the early Roman Commonwealth.

While commenting on the formal assertion of St. Paul that in the ages of darkness now dispelled by the brightness of the true Light, God never left Himself without witness to the mind and heart of man, we are shown that the very errors by which the vital truths forming the religious and social heirloom of mankind were depraved and degraded, witness to the necessity of an enduring infallible guidance, for the conservation of religious and moral truth. We here close our *compte rendu*, referring our readers to the pamphlet itself, which is at once brief and suggestive. While presuming to differ with the views here set forth on certain minor questions, we cannot but warmly recommend these Lectures as a valuable contribution to the Philosophy of History, as a practical lesson teaching the student how to clothe and quicken the dry bones of historic narrative.

4. *Memoir of John Charles, Viscount Althorp* (Third Earl Spencer). By the late Sir Denis Le Marchant, Bart. London: Bentley, 1876.

The period of the passing of the first Reform Bill is fast receding into the domain of history, though, as it is not yet half a century distant from us, some of the actors of that momentous time still survive. Among those who have passed away, few deserved the tribute of a separate memoir better than the Lord Althorp of the Reform Bill, though, as he retired altogether from public life in 1834, his name has

been far less familiar to the present generation than that of politicians like Sir Robert Peel, Lord Russell, Sir James Graham, the late Lord Derby, Lord Brougham, Lord Melbourne, and others who were not more conspicuous at the time than he. The work of the late Sir Denis le Marchant, which has been arranged and published by his son, is a work of love and admiration, and, in its kind, is perfect. It gives a distinct and very pleasing idea of an English nobleman of the highest integrity of character, who had no ambition nor even taste for politics except on account of his public spirit and sense of duty to his country, a man of no eloquence or shining social faculties, but whose simple straightforwardness and honesty gave him almost unbounded influence over the House of Commons, who found himself the leader of his party there without aiming at leadership, who was so indispensable that Lord Grey would not form the Reform Government unless he joined the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose resignation on a question of personal honour broke up that Government in the summer of 1834, and whose removal to the House of Lords a few months later gave the King a plausible excuse for thinking that Lord Melbourne's first Cabinet could not go on, and so for dismissing his Ministry. The biography before us, in some respects, adds to our knowledge of the details concerning the history of the first Reform Bill and the Cabinet which passed it, but its great value lies in the portrait which it gives us of Lord Althorp himself, which is, in truth, a contribution to the history of the times, because it explains, or at least describes, the influence of the man upon his contemporaries. The character of Lord Althorp is one which sums up many of the very best features of the typical Englishman. He was a man who would never have been prominent elsewhere. He had nothing of the professional statesman about him, like Thiers, Guizot, Gladstone, or Disraeli—men whose brilliant talents and great knowledge of business often bring them to the highest posts, but fail to make them trusted. On the other hand, the whole House of Commons in those days of excited, angry warfare, days when the country was as near a Revolution as it ever has been since 1688, respected, admired, and trusted Lord Althorp. He hated place, and every one knew that he was the soul of honour and honesty. There was not a more thorough "John Bull" among all the country gentlemen on the Tory side in that great conflict. Lord John Russell has said of him that it might be conceivable that he would intrigue to get out of power and office, but that it was absolutely inconceivable that he should intrigue to gain them or to retain them. His good-humour and temper never failed. He was always courteous, and yet could administer a severe rebuke when it was required. He had the admirable talent of putting his adversary's case in the fairest possible way before he answered it, and if people did not agree with his arguments, they were charmed with his sincerity. So great was the faith of the House in him, that Sir Robert Peel complained that it was of no use objecting to his statements. He had but to get up, take off his hat, and shake his

head, and every one believed at once that the objections were all fallacious.

A country which breeds noblemen like Lord Althorp, has the best possible reason for trusting in its aristocracy. For this reason we are glad to see him made the subject of a political memoir so interesting as that which is contained in the work of Sir Denis le Marchant. Instead of attempting an epitome of Lord Althorp's career, we shall confine ourselves to one or two remarks on collateral points which are suggested by its perusal.

We had lately occasion to mention some very disparaging remarks on Lord Brougham uttered by Lord Macaulay when he was as yet young in Parliament. We suspect that the view of Lord Brougham then implied was, in the main, correct. His vanity, jealousy, and imprudence made him intolerable to his colleagues, and when Lord Melbourne came back to office after the overthrow of Sir Robert Peel's first and short-lived Ministry in 1835, it is well known that Lord Brougham was excluded from the Cabinet and the Chancellorship. Then was fulfilled the sort of prophecy made by Macaulay, and preserved in his sister's journal. It was an imprudence of Lord Brougham's which had brought about the resignation of Lord Grey, for the Chancellor was the person who urged Lord Wellesley to write the letter saying that he did not think some of the clauses of the Irish Coercion Bill necessary, and this brought about the famous *imbroglio* in which Mr. Littleton and O'Connell figured, and which led to Lord Grey's retirement. The Chancellor does not, as it seems to us, really gain by the narrative of Lord Althorp's life, but it is fair to say that Sir Denis le Marchant has a far higher idea of him than that entertained of him by Macaulay. Sir Denis was, indeed, a *protégé* of Lord Brougham's, and served under him faithfully, but he is not an author whom we can suppose to be greatly influenced by personal considerations. In the course of this volume we find him continually answering Mr. Roebuck's attack on the Whigs, written at the instigation of Lord Brougham, and containing every possible charge against them. The defects and follies must have been very considerable which made Lord Melbourne and his friends prefer the enmity of their late colleague to his assistance. Lord Brougham had some reason for saying that he had been ruined—that is, his acceptance of a peerage had removed him from the House of Commons, in which he was powerful, and from the practice of his profession, of which he was not independent. But we cannot help seeing that it was his own fault. Lord Althorp takes the kindest and even the most chivalrous view of his case. Sir Denis le Marchant tells us that in 1844, when there was some possibility that, on the break-up of Sir Robert Peel's Government, he might have been called from his retirement by the Queen and asked to form a Government, Lord Spencer, as he then was, said that any proposal he might make for a Ministry would, as a point of honour, have included the offer of the Chancellorship to Lord Brougham, if he had been willing to

accept it. At the time of the formation of Lord Melbourne's second Ministry, we find him writing as follows to Mr. Spring Rice, afterwards Lord Monteagle—

I suppose I must say I believe you right, but I cannot but be grievously sorry for poor Brougham. I see, of course, his glaring defects. I know the mischief those defects are calculated to do to himself and to every one with whom he is acting, but still, I have worked with him for so many years, and have at different times lived on such intimate terms with him, that I must lament, though I by no means censure, his being thrown overboard, when I fear there is no whale ready to receive him and, after a limited time, to replace him on dry land.

However high must be the opinion formed of Lord Althorp by any reader of this volume, and however sincere the admiration which he must conceive for Lord Grey and for some of his colleagues in the Reform Ministry, the character of the Whig party for statesmanship does not rise the more we know of its history at the period when it had the greatest opportunity of laying the country under permanent obligations. The same impression is given by Macaulay's life. The Parliamentary conduct of Sir Robert Peel after the great overthrow of the Tories, on the other hand, contrasts most favourably with that of Lord Melbourne and his party. Whether, if Lord Althorp had taken a part in the Liberal Ministry, things would have been better, we can hardly judge; but it does not seem likely that he would have consented to the disgrace of remaining in office after having failed to carry the Appropriation Clauses, on which Sir Robert's first Government had been turned out.

The name of O'Connell occurs, as was to be expected, frequently enough in the pages of Sir Denis le Marchant, and the great Irish leader is no favourite with the author. But he seems to us to admit the greatness of the blunder made by the Whigs when they came into power, in not at least taking O'Connell's advice as to the administration of Ireland. When Lord Grey came in, Sir Denis tells us,

The Irish appointments were, by a great mistake, left entirely to Lord Anglesey, as the Lord Lieutenant, and being, as I was told by those who knew him best, then very little of a politician, he consulted only his personal likings and dislikings, which caused his preference to be given exclusively to the Tories of the Peel school, able and enlightened men, certainly, but naturally odious to the Catholic party, with whom they had been, except for the last year, always at variance. It was not even a question among the Whig leaders to give office to Mr. O'Connell or his friends, so imperfectly had the Emancipation Act been practically acted upon. Perhaps, with the strong anti-Catholic feeling throughout England, this would have been impossible; but he ought at least to have been consulted, and the slight thus cast on him extinguished in a single hour his gratitude for all that the Whigs had done and suffered for his countrymen.

The writer at all events sees that, in his own words, the Emancipation Act was imperfectly carried out. Catholics could sit in Parliament, but they were practically excluded from power. In this respect the Whigs were no better than the Tories. Can it be wondered at, that Ireland retained its alienation—an alienation which subsequent

events have enhanced rather than diminished? And at the time at which we write, when nearly half a century has passed away since the passing of Emancipation, the "anti-Catholic feeling throughout England" and Scotland is so strong, that the simplest and plainest justice is still denied to the Irish people in the matter of Education. But might not Lord Grey and his colleagues have broken down the power of that anti-Catholic feeling if they had had the wisdom to see what the interests of the Empire required, and the courage to act in conformity with that wisdom by taking care that, on the first accession to power of the party which had pleaded the cause of Ireland so long in vain, the measure of Emancipation should be practically carried out, not only by the admission of Catholics to high posts in the Government of the country, but by the introduction of the principle that Irish questions must be settled by the Imperial Parliament in conformity with the wishes and interests of the Irish people? We have not yet found the race of statesmen who are prepared to force these principles to victory over English and Scotch bigotry. And yet it is a principle too just to be questioned, too practical to be ignored—a principle the denial of which ever has been, and ever will be—as long as it is denied—the weakness of the Empire.

5. *The Life of Gregory Lopez.* By Canon Doyle, O.S.B. Washbourne, 1876.

We are very grateful to Canon Doyle for this Life of a very remarkable and saintly man—all the more, perhaps, because the character of his vocation was unusual, and because he was endowed with very extraordinary graces of that kind which are called *gratis dote*. It is very well that Christians should be frequently reminded of the very great variety of paths along which the servants of God are led by the Holy Ghost Who guides them. It is very necessary in times such as these in which we live that the eremitical life of solitude, austerity, prayer, and contemplation should be held in the same honour as in former periods of the Church. We rejoice greatly in the manifold instances which are continually before our eyes, either in daily experience or in the annals of the saints, of the beneficent activity and laborious usefulness which mark so large a number of God's chosen servants. But we are also inclined to rejoice in a special manner over the example of saints who have seemed to belong to God rather than to the world, whom He has kept, that is, in great measure to Himself, though it is of course true that none who belong to Him entirely can be unprofitable to the world and to the Church, even externally.

The young man of noble or gentle birth—for Gregory always kept his family and connections a secret—who, at the age of twenty, left Spain for the new world, and spent the rest of his life in the practice of austerity and solitude now in one spot, now in another, of the Mexican colonies, was naturally for the most part, in St. Paul's words, a life

hidden in God. But the honour which sanctity like a hidden magnet draws to itself, haunted his footsteps and was often the cause for his change of abode. Suspicion, calumny, and a sort of persecution also followed him, but the trials to which he was exposed only made his humility, as well as his other remarkable gifts, more conspicuous than before. His knowledge of many parts of natural science and of practical theology was very wonderful. But we must leave our readers to make acquaintance for themselves with the details of his life.

6. *Short Sermons preached in the Chapel of St. Mary's College, Oscott.* Collected and Edited by the President. London : Burns and Oates, 1876.

Dr. Northcote has here given us nearly twenty short sermons by various authors, preached to the students at Oscott. Many of them are of very high merit, but the character of the publication is one that to some extent removes it from the field of criticism. We content ourselves, therefore, with the heartiest possible general commendation. But we do not think ourselves precluded from noticing more specially the two very interesting funeral sermons—on old “Oscotians”—with which the volume closes. The first of them was preached at the *Requiem* of Maurice Noel Welman, the other at that of Osmund Charles de Lisle. With regard to the last named youth, Dr. Northcote says :

I cannot question the able priest who for four or five years had special charge of the discipline of the house, governing the boys in their hours of recreation, and so seeing them at their most unguarded moments, for he too has gone to his last home ; but I well remember the value he set upon Osmund's example and influence, and the use he made of it, on more than one occasion, for the good of others ; and the friendship which continued between them, even after he had left the College, and so long as he lived, is a sufficient proof of the estimate he had formed of our friend's character. I have asked his successor in the important office of the Prefectship, whose duties, as I have already explained, give such special opportunities for learning the true character of a boy, and his answer is briefly this, “I never had an occasion to reprimand him ; and when his whole class incurred punishment, I was obliged to make him an exception.” I questioned another of his masters, who knew him well, and he said, “I may mention a circumstance which, though connected with a fault he once committed, gave me a very high opinion of his sincerity. He had failed to present his composition at the proper time ; and I asked him, ‘What excuse he had to give for the omission ?’ ‘No excuse at all, sir ; sheer idleness,’ was the reply.” And a very similar anecdote is told by another master. How blameless must that life have been, in which the keen eyes and retentive memories of superiors either fail to testify to any fault at all, or only to faults redeemed by such noble sincerity as this. Yet I have not been able to find a trace of anything more serious than this. I called for the testimony of those of his class-fellows who were within my reach,—they are only two, both studying for the priesthood ; and this is what they write :—“Osmund always got up, went to bed, and performed all his other duties with clock-work punctuality. He always *kneelt* during the whole of meditation-time, not availing himself of any of the ordinary indulgences, but uniformly observing a straight, motionless posture. At meals he invariably took the same quantity, and always chose the plainest fare upon the table. He was in every particular zealous for the rules of the College, both in time of study and recreation.

Thus, in the winter-time he would not read in the common room of his class, where there was a comfortable fire, for fear he should be tempted into conversation with his companions, but always withdrew to his own room, and read with open window in the severest weather. He observed most exactly the most minute regulations, even where some perhaps had been allowed practically to fall into abeyance though they still remained as the written letter of the law. As head of the games, he was as zealous for the boys' rules as for those of his superiors, but was never boisterous in enforcing them. He ruled by example and force of character, not by words. He never *shouted* his injunctions, as boys generally do, but if any one were in fault, spoke to him with the same quiet manner, sweet smile, and subdued voice, which were habitual to him. He always reminded us of the saying, *Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re.* All his spare recreation time was devoted to the common public good. He would work for the junior boys, splicing their bats or otherwise helping them ; always occupied, and always at everybody's service. He could not bear to see any waste in the public property, and spent much time in sewing up cricket-gloves and other apparatus, so as to keep everything in a serviceable condition, as long as possible. In conversation, he was never known to utter a word against anybody ; nor would he ever hear any one say a word against his neighbour, or against superiors, or against the College regulations, so that boys learned to know better than to grumble or speak unkindly before him. One who had been somewhat annoyed at a rebuke he had received, once complained to him that "he never seemed able to see anything bad in any one." It was noticed that he always defended the weaker side. His manner impressed us with the idea that he was always engaged in subduing himself. He used to make light of what he called his *stoicism*, alluding to the severities which he practised on himself, as though he adopted that manner of life as a whim, and to please himself. But no one was or could have been ignorant of the real motive, to acquire the perfect mastery over himself, so as to conform his life in all things to the will of God, as dictated in his conscience." "To one who did not know him," adds another, "he might have appeared reserved ; but when spoken to, he was always singularly open and cheerful in his conversation. He would anticipate a superior's or a companion's wishes, if he could. A wish expressed in his presence, even though not really meant, was enough to secure its fulfilment, if it was at all within his power to accomplish it. His ruling principle, founded on the instruction so often given us in Retreat, was this : 'Play well in play-time, pray well in prayer-time, and study well in study-time.' Hence he made it a rule always to study the subject-matter of the lesson during the whole time appointed for that lesson, but on the same principle he did not study *out of* study time. In consequence of this, he failed on one occasion to pass in an examination, to prepare for which all his class-fellows had stayed up beyond the hour allotted for going to bed. Once, when he did not see the meaning of the subject given for composition, he inquired it of a companion, but ultimately thought it his duty not to use the knowledge so acquired. In a word, he did everything as conscientiously, as unselfishly, and as perfectly as it could be done."

II.—CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of the "Month and Catholic Review."

Dear Sir,—I so completely agree with the principles laid down in your remarks appended to Father Thébaud's letter in the MONTH for June, and, moreover, I feel myself so entirely in accord with Father Thébaud himself in his main positions against those who seek to give a "mythical" interpretation to the early chapters of Genesis, that I venture to ask, through the intervention of your good offices, a rectification at his hands, which I feel sure, both on account of the identity of our sentiments, and the courtesy of his expressions towards me, that he will not willingly refuse; and trusting also that what I could not claim on merely personal grounds you will kindly concede out of regard for the importance of the subject, and of the fact that the question which Father Thébaud discusses and which I had previously discussed in a book published in 1872, *Tradition with reference to Mythology, &c.*, viz., whether or not man started from a state of primitive civilization or from what Sir John Lubbock calls "an initial state of hetairism," underlies all the political and religious discussions of the day.

Father Thébaud says, p. 95, and in this we agree (vide *Tradition, &c.*, ch. iii. and ch. v.), that "it is a probable conjecture that the children of Ham spread more rapidly on the earth than those of Sem and Japhet," and that thus "the priority" spoken of "is not that of the race itself, but of its extension" and "the reason of its inferiority" that "it lay under a curse." Father Thébaud, however, in paying me the compliment of referring to my argument cannot, I think, have had the actual text before him at the moment.

Father Thébaud says, p. 95: "There are considerations on this subject [the curse] in the chapter on 'Primitive man' of the recent work of Lord Arundell well worthy of perusal. He, however, thinks that the Hamitic family was not co-extensive with the Turanian race, which, he says, is a philological, not an ethnic, entity; and this observation, striking at first, is, in my opinion, calculated to create a far greater difficulty than the one it obviates." And he adds: "That in the course of his remarks Lord A. seems to limit the Hamitic race to black or nearly black tribes, as he readily classifies with it the degraded races of Hindostan, the Sudras particularly on account of their dark complexion. But is he right in placing 'blackness,' as he calls it, among the essential characteristics of the Hamitic family? The Hamitic race spread from the very beginning not only in Egypt and Ethiopia, but likewise in Babylonia, Palestine, and along the Syrian coast; many nations sprung from it, not only were not black, but were remarkable for their ruddy complexion."

It is true that in chapter iii. I said that the Turanian was rather a philological than an ethnological distinction (but it is both), and in chapter v. when I discuss the question of the curse, and when I am

dealing with an ethnological question, I used it in an ethnological sense; and in chapter iii. I find I guarded myself on this point, and what I actually said was, p. 39: "I do not venture to say that the *Canaanite* is co-extensive with the Turanian, which is more a philological than an ethnological division of mankind, or that their characteristics in all respects correspond. I limit my argument now to indicating the correspondence between the *Canaanite* and the aboriginal tribes in India." And in chapter v. I only assumed the fact provisionally and *pro argumento*.

But in any case Father Thébaud has misunderstood and reversed my argument, which was that the Turanian race was not co-extensive with the Hamitic but *with the Canaanite family*; and my argument was directed to show *how it might be* that while some branches of the Hamitic family were black (as being under the curse), other branches—the elder branches born prior to the curse, *i.e.*, the descendants of the three elder sons of Ham, viz., Chus, Messaim, and Phuth, need not have been, and probably were not subject to it.

But here ends my rectification, and I shall not trespass upon your valuable space to go beyond it. If, however, any of your readers would wish to pursue the matter further, I would refer them to what I have written in chapter v. *Tradition, &c.*, pp. 85–88; although for a full consideration of the question I ought to notice certain strictures on this chapter in the *Dublin Review* of October, 1872, to which, however, I have as yet had no opportunity of reply.

Yours very truly,

June 6th, 1876.

ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR.

P.S.—It may prevent further misconception if I am allowed to add that my theory will account for many gradations and shades of difference within the limits of the races affected by the curse. It is clear from Genesis ix. 22–25 that something in this sense happened in regard to Cham and to Chanaan. I have already said that in so far as the three elder children of Cham were concerned, the effect of my argument would be the reverse of what Father Thébaud supposes. And the inference I should draw would be that they were not likely to have been retrospectively affected by the curse; but *if* it is permissible to suppose (although it seems formally opposed to Genesis x. 20–32) that Cham had other children after the curse (female children, however, would satisfy the exigency of the argument) and younger than Chanaan, they might have been affected in a different degree and manner, and these differences may be co-extensive with the differences remarked in the Turanian race.

To all who hold up their hands in horror at the notion of blackness as a curse and of a people struck with this mark of inferiority on account of some crime, and protest that this is inconsistent with the Divine goodness and could not be, I have but one answer,—*But they are black!* and as it would seem with this mark indelibly impressed upon them.

III.—OLD ENGLISH DEVOTION TO OUR BLESSED LADY.

A Catalogue of Shrines, Offerings, Bequests, &c.

PART XIV. (WAKEFIELD—WALSINGHAM).

WAKEFIELD.

1. The parish church.

Richard Bate of Wakefield, tanner, by will dated Tuesday after the feast of St. Mark, 1401, leaves to the high altar ii.s. Also to the Blessed Virgin Marye of the same church ii.s.; and to her light vi.d.²⁸⁸

Our Ladye's chapel was on the south side of the church.²⁸⁹

"Wakefield upon Calder," says Leland, "ys a very quik market towne, and meately large; well served of flesch and fische; both from the se and by rivers, whereof divers be thereabout at hande. So that al vitaile is very good and chepe there. A right honest man shal fare wel for 2 pens a meale. In this town is but one chefe church. There is a chapel beside."

2. Our Ladye on the Bridge.

"There is also a chapel of our Ladye on Calder Bridge, wont to be celebrated a *peregrin*. The faire bridge of stone, of nine arches, under the which renneth the river of Calder; and on the east side of this bridge is a right goodly chapel of our Ladye, and two cantuarie priestes founded in it, of the foundation of the townsmen as sum say; but the Dukes of York were taken as founders for obteyning the mortmayne: I herd one saye that a servant of King Edward's (the Fourth) father, or else of the Earl of Rutheland, brother to King Edward the Fourth was a gret doer of it."²⁹⁰

By many this chapel is believed to have been erected by Edward the Fourth, the brother of young Edmund of Rutland—who was so ruthlessly murdered by the Earl of Clifford, who, says Leland, "for killing of men at this batail was called the 'boucher'"—for the repose of the soul of his unfortunate brother, and those who fell in the battle of Wakefield.

²⁸⁸ Test. Ebor. vol. i. 286.

²⁸⁹ Whitaker, *Loidis and Elemete*, 1816, t. i. p. 281.

²⁹⁰ *Itin.* vol. vii. p. 41.

Although this little gem is called the chapel of Edward the Fourth, it existed long previously to his time. By charter dated Wakefield, 31st Edward the Third, 1357, it appears that the said King vested a rent charge of 10*l.* yearly on William Kay and William Bull, chaplains, and their successors for ever, to celebrate divine service in the chapel of our Blessed Ladye, then newly erected on Wakefield bridge. In 1391, William de Bayley, of the parish of Mitton, leaves —“C. sol. ad confirmationem cantarie in capella Sce. Marie sup Pont. de Wakefield.²⁰¹

In 1398, there were two chantries ordained in the chapel on Wakefield bridge, which were founded by William, the son of John Terry of Wakefield, and Robert de Heth, or Heath, who obtained licenses of the King—Richard the Second—to give and assign to the chaplains celebrating divine service in the chapel of St. Marye on Wakefield bridge, lately built, 10*l.* rent in Wakefield, Stanley, Ossett, Pontefract, Horbury, Heckmondwike, Shapton, Darfield, Purston, Jackling, and Fryston by the water. Thus there is evidence that the chantry on Wakefield bridge was erected long prior to the battle of Wakefield, and the connection of Edward the Fourth with it appears to have been confined to its re-endowment. However, there was an estate at Wakefield charged with the payment of 3*s.* annually, dated 27 September, 32nd Henry the Sixth, 1453.²⁰² The payments were to be made on the festival of St. Michael, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Marye, and Pentecost.

A Protestant historian writes: “Since that time, i.e., 1460, when its cresset-light acted as a guide to the wayfarer, and to the navigator of the Calder, it has no doubt frequently been visited by travellers, whose first step upon entering a town was to call at some chapel dedicated to the Virgin, and return thanks for preservation from danger by flood and field. The chantry has undergone many strange metamorphoses. It has been degraded into an old clothes shop, a warehouse, a shop for flax-dressers, a news-room, a cheese-cake house, and a tailor’s shop. It has been rebuilt in perfect

²⁰¹ Tyas, *Battles of Wakefield*. London and Wakefield, 1854, p. 67.

²⁰² *Gentlemen's Magazine*, 1801, p. 723.

accordance with its original design, and is, perhaps, as pretty a specimen of the style of architecture of the time of Edward the Third as will be found within the compass of the three kingdoms.”²⁹³

When the restorations were effected in 1848, the original front being much delapidated by age, was taken down, and sold to the late Honourable George Norton, who erected it by the side of the small lake in the picturesque grounds of Kettlethorpe Hall, with the object of serving for a summer-house.

WALBERSWICK.

In the churchwarden's accounts there is an item in 1453 of 5*s.* for “peynting the image of our Ladye.” In 1491 another similar entry occurs: “Peyd for peynting of our Ladye, 13*s.* 4*d.*”²⁹⁴

In 1474, the tabernacle of our Ladye of Pity here was ordered to be painted and gilded according to the form of the image of our Ladye of Pity at Southwold.²⁹⁵

In 1500, John Almyngham by his will dated October 7, gave to the church 20*l.*, of which 10*l.* were for an organ.

“Item, with the residue of the said sume I will a canopy over the hygh awter welle done with oure Ladye and 4 anngelys, and the Holy Ghost goyng upp and down with a cheyme.”²⁹⁶

WALSINGHAM,
formerly
GALSINGAHAM.

This was the most celebrated of all the English sanctuaries of our Blessed Ladye; and so great was the veneration in which it was held, that it was called the Holy Land of Walsingham. An old ballad says—

As ye came from the holy land
Of Walsingham :

and other instances occur.²⁹⁷ How applicable to this sanctuary were those words of Tobias: “Nations from afar shall come to thee, shall bring gifts, and shall adore the Lord in thee, and shall esteem thy land as holy.”²⁹⁸

²⁹³ Tyas, *ut sup.* p. 73.

²⁹⁴ Nichols, *Illustrations, &c.* p. 186.

²⁹⁵ *Vide ante sub* Southwold.

²⁹⁶ Nichols, p. 187.

²⁹⁷ Bishop Percy's folio Manuscript, *Ballads and Romances.* Ed. Hales and Furneavall. Lond. 1868. V. iii. p. 471. *Vide also* p. 465.

²⁹⁸ Tobias, c. xiii. v. 14.

Walsingham, or more correctly, Little Walsingham, is a parish, formerly a market town, in the northern division of the hundred of Greenhoe, in the county of Norfolk, twenty-eight miles north-west of Norwich, and one hundred and fourteen from London. It is about eight miles from the sea, and seven from Wells, the nearest port; but it is probable that most of the pilgrims who came by sea would land at Lynn Episcopi, now Lynn Regis, which is twenty-seven miles distant. Ships belonging to Lynn Episcopi are often mentioned amongst the pilgrim-transports.

Two hundred feet due east from the east end of the priory church are two wells, commonly called the "Wishing-wells," but this appears to be a comparatively late designation, and to which is attached a modern superstition, that whoever drank of these waters might obtain what they wished for while they drank.

In or about the year 1061, a little chapel, similar to the Holy House at Nazareth, and dedicated to the Annunciation, was built here by Richeldis or Recholdis,²⁹⁹ a widow, in consequence, as the tradition says, of an injunction received in a vision from the Blessed Virgin Marye.³⁰⁰

In the Pepysian Library there is an unique copy of an anonymous ballad, printed by Robert Pynson, and which bears internal evidence of having been composed about the year 1460. Its title runs thus—

Of thy chappel see here the foundatyon,
Builded the yere of Christ's incarnatyoun
A thousande complete sixty and one,
The tyme of Saint Edwarde, Kinge of this region.

It relates how "the noble wedowe," some time Lady of the town of Walsingham, Rychold de Faverches by name, was favoured by the Virgin Mother of God with a view of the Holy House at Nazareth, and commissioned to build its counterpart at Walsingham, upon a site thereafter

²⁹⁹ Riche'd is an old Norfolk name. In 1233, Bartholomew de Creke makes a grant to Richeld, widow of Robert de Creke. Blomefield, Parkins' continuation, v. iii. p. 37.

³⁰⁰ *Index. Mon. Dix. Norr.* p. 26. Leland Collect. v. iii. p. 26.

to be indicated. It relates very circumstantially the widow's perplexity—

When it was al formed, then had she great doubte
Where it should be sette, and in what manner place,
Inasmuch as tweyne places were founé out,
Tokened with meracles of our Laydie's grace.

The Wedowe thought it moste lykely of congruence
This house on the first soyle to build and arrere:
Of thyss who lyste to have experience;
A chappel of Saynt Lawrence standyth now there,
Faste by tweyne wellys, experience do thus lere:
There she thought to have sette this chappel,
Which was begone by our Ladie's counsel.
All night the Wedowe permayneing in this prayer,
Our Blessed Laydie with blessed minystryss,
Herself being here chief Artificer,
Arrered thyss sayde house with angelis handys,
And not only rered it, but sette it there it is,
That is tweyne hundrede foot and more in distaunce
From the first place fokes make remembranca.¹

The tradition, therefore, is, that Richeld, being in a state of doubt as to the exact spot on which to erect the little chapel, but inclining to the site by the two wells—"there she thought to have sette this chappel"—spent the night in prayer, and that our Blessed Ladye, "herself being here chief artificer," reared it with the assistance of angels, and then "sette it there it is." This tradition fully explains the extraordinary veneration in which the sanctuary of our Lady of Walsingham was held. "Whatever uncertainty," says Harrod, "may still exist about the precise date of the chapel, there can be no doubt as to its having been the great source of attraction which drew pilgrims from all parts, and made the priory one of the richest in the world. Almost from the foundation of the priory up to the dissolution there was one unceasing movement of pilgrims to and from Walsingham. . . . The image of the Blessed Virgin in the small chapel, 'in all respects like to the Santa Casa at Nazareth, where the Virgin was saluted by the Angel Gabriel,' was the original, and continued to the dissolution the primary object of the pilgrims' visit."²

¹ *Journal of Royal Arch. Instit.* v. xiii. pp. 115, 116.

² Harrod, *Gleanings among the Castles and Convents of Norfolk.* Norwich, 1857.
P. 157.

Soon after the norman invasion, Geoffrey de Faveraches, as he is named, the son of Richeldis, founded and endowed a priory of Austin Canons, to whom he gave the above-named chapel. The charter of foundation is to this effect:

"To all, &c. Geoffrey de Faveraches, &c.

"Be it known to you that I have given and granted to Edwin, my clerk, for the institution of a religious order which he will provide, and for the health of my soul and the souls of my parents and friends, in perpetual alms, the chapel which my mother founded in Walsingham, in honour of the Ever Virgin Mary, together with the possession of the Church of All Hallows, in the same vill, with all its appurtenances, &c."³

Geoffrey went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but the date of his journey is not given.

Subsequently Gilbert, Earl of Clare, confirms to his clerics of Walsingham, Ralph and Geoffrey, for the health of his soul and the souls of his parents, in perpetual alms, the chapel which Richeldis, the mother of Geoffrey de Faveraches, had founded in Walsingham, with all its appurtenances.⁴ And a charter, of a later date, of Robert de Brucurt, addressed to William, Bishop of Norwich, dated A.D. 1146—1174, makes known that he gives and grants to God and St. Marye, and the canons of Walsingham, for the health of his soul, &c., all the possessions which that church held on the day when Geoffrey de Faveraches set out on his journey to Jerusalem.⁵ This is the correct early history of Walsingham, and which some writers have strangely confused; and there appears no reason to doubt that Richeld, the mother of Geoffrey de Faveraches, was the original founder of the celebrated chapel of our Ladye, and at the period usually assigned, A.D. 1061. The chain of evidence is satisfactory.

The chapel of our Blessed Lady stood lengthways, east and west, on the north side of the church, which was built up to it, and communicated with it by a door. This church was two hundred and forty-four feet in length by seventy-eight in width, interior measurement. The priory

³ *Mon. Ang.* vi. p. 71. MS. Cott. Nero. E. vii. f. 7.

* *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 73.

adjoined the church on the south side. About two hundred and thirty feet due north, on a line drawn from the east end of the church, stood the "Knight's Gate," leading into what is now called "Knight's Street."

This renowned sanctuary is generally spoken of as having been the counterpart of the Holy House at Nazareth. Fortunately the dimensions of the Walsingham chapel have been preserved by William of Worcester, and thus a comparison becomes possible. I propose, therefore, briefly to give such details of the Holy House of Nazareth, now of Loreto, as bear upon the question, using for my principal authority a most interesting work, entitled *Loreto and Nazareth*, drawn up from the researches of many writers, and from his own most careful investigations in both places, by the late lamented Father of the Oratory of St. Philip, William Antony Hutchison.⁶ It is to be regretted that this instructive book is not more known. It has lately been translated into German.

The Holy House was miraculously translated by the angels from Nazareth, and placed by them on the summit of a hill at Tersatto, a small town near Fiume, about sixty miles south of Trieste, on the eastern side of the Adriatic gulf, on the 6th of May, A.D. 1291.⁷ Three years later, on the 10th of September, it was again translated across the Adriatic, and placed in a wood, about a mile from the sea-shore, and four miles from Recanati.⁸ In August, 1295, it was transferred to the hill of the two brothers; finally, in December of the same year, it was translated to its present position.⁹ The wood where the Holy House rested was in

⁶ *Loreto and Nazareth*. London: E. Dillon, 2, Alexander Place, Brompton, 1863.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 17.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ I have found instances of both these names elsewhere in the thirteenth century. Thus the Chartulary of Notre Dame of Paris contains a charter, dated November, 1264, of Peter, called Tonnius de Lorreto in Boscagio, and Anne his wife (vol. ii. f. 224, n. xix.). In February, 1256, there is a precept of Henry, Archbishop of Sens, given at Loretum in Boscagio (*ibid.* n. i, f. 290); and in a charter of June, 1258, some lands are described as lying contiguous to the vineyard of Philip de Loreto (*ibid.* f. 468, n. cvi.). This place was Lorrez-le-Bocage, in the department of Seine et Marne, in the arrondissement of Fontainebleau. And a lady of the name of Laureta was an early benefactor to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

a district called *Lauretum*,¹⁰ either from the laurels that grew in abundance there, or because it belonged to a rich lady of Recanati, called Laureta; and hence the appellation of *Domus Lauretana*, or "House of Loreto," which has ever since remained attached to it.¹¹

"Although," says Father Hutchison, "the House now at Loreto is identically the same as when it arrived there nearly six centuries ago, yet some alterations have been made in it, of which we now proceed to give an account. Soon after the House was finally settled in its present site, the people of Recanati, seeing that it stood on the bare earth without foundation, feared to allow its ancient walls to be exposed to the violence of the wind and the rain. They determined, therefore, to surround the Holy House with a thick brick wall, which should serve as a support and protection to the ancient walls; but when it was finished, it was found that the new wall had separated from the old walls in such a manner, that a boy with a lighted candle in his hand could easily pass between the two. This separation was commonly thought to be miraculous, and it was believed that our Lady wished to show that she had no need of human assistance to support the walls of her Holy House. Had the separation only taken place here and there, there would be nothing astonishing, as it might be thought to be merely the effect of a settlement of a new wall; but from the account given, something more than this seems to have taken place, as the new walls all round the building seem to have separated from the old walls, and to a considerable distance. But whatever may have been the reason, there was no doubt of the fact, for Riera, who died anno 1582, says that in his day there were living many who had beheld this prodigy with their own eyes; and amongst the rest, Rainerius Nerucci, the architect of the Holy House."¹²

¹⁰ *Loreto and Nazareth*, p. 14.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 25, 26.

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